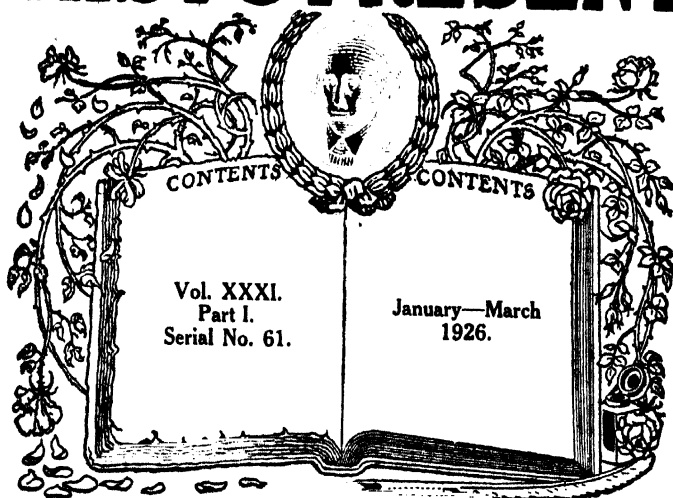


BENEFIT PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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A Guide up the River Ganges,

from Calcutta to Calmypore, Futeh Chur, Meerat, &c.;

WITH THE CORRECT DISTANCES OF EVERY STATION.

HAVING experienced both difficulty and delay, from ignorance of this navigation, and the different species of accommodation that each station offers to the voyager, the Author is led to believe that a correct statement of these particulars will not be unacceptable, particularly to those who, newly arrived in Bengal, may be under the necessity to make the voyage.

On his arrival in Calcutta, a young man is generally received into the house of some friend, or person to whom he brings an introduction; (a circumstance of great importance on his thus setting out in life); but should he come unprovided with such recommendation, he is reduced to the necessity of resorting to a tavern; of which, although there are several in Calcutta, they are not considered a respectable residence, being for the most part dirty, unpleasantly situated, extravagant in their charges, and frequented chiefly by Europeans of the lowest class.

If in the King's service, a young man's first step is to wait upon the brigade-major to the King's troops, (who resides in Fort William,) and report the date of his arrival; from which day his pay and allowances commence. The brigade-major furnishing him with a certificate to this effect, his recommendation will enable a gentleman so applying to procure quarters in the fort—a subaltern officer two rooms, a captain four; but as these apartments are not furnished, such accommodation is only of use to those who are destined to remain there for some time.

If he happen to be an officer in the service of the East India Company, he should apply in a similar manner to the town-major, who will furnish him with the necessary certificates and instructions. He will perhaps learn from him that he is posted to a regiment in the upper provinces of Hindostan, to which he is directed to proceed by water, and that he will by proper application get his boat expenses paid. The mode of making this application, with the consequent preparations for the voyage, it is my intention, in as clear a manner as possible, to point out. He must, in the first place, after having procured his certificate, repair to the auditor-general's office, and produce it, stating the orders he may have received, and requesting his boat allowance to the place of his destination; the half of which will be immediately given him, and authority to draw for the remainder at a stated period.

There are but two kind of boats at the same time safe and commodious, and these are called, the one a pinnace (or small cutter,) the other a

budgerow. They are each drawn up the river by men called *dandies*, with another to guide the helm, named a *maunje*. They each contain a bedroom at the stern, a sitting-room in the centre, and an anti-room in front towards the deck, the whole being surrounded by Venetian blinds. They are hired at so many rupees a month, according to the number of oars: pinnaces, from one hundred and fifty to four hundred and twenty rupees a month; budgerows, from ninety-seven to one hundred and seventy-six. Baggage-boats to accompany the above, from twenty-two to ninety-seven rupees a month. To a budgerow carrying sixteen oars, at one hundred and fifty-seven rupees a month, a baggage-boat would be required at thirty-five, and a cooking-boat at twenty-two, which are of sufficient size to encounter any weather, and at the same time afford ample accommodation for servants, provisions, &c. The best mode of procuring these boats is by application to Messrs. Barber and Co. at the Old Fort Ghaut, who will also furnish hands to navigate them, and become security for their not deserting, a circumstance by no means unusual on this voyage, which may perhaps be attributed to the custom of advancing the half of their wages to them before they start, in order, as they allege, to enable their families to procure subsistence during their absence. Besides the security given by Barber and Co., I should recommend that a clashee be engaged as a servant to keep guard over, and expedite their movements on the voyage. This man will also be found useful in procuring supplies from the several bazaars *en passant*. Some other preparations are also necessary, such as poultry, a few fat sheep, a couple of milch goats, (whose milk in this country is free from any particular flavour, and in tea is infinitely preferable to cow's milk,) tea, sugar, a quantity of hard biscuits, bread, cheese, &c. This latter article is not manufactured in India, but may be procured in the China Bazaar at Calcutta, fresh from England, at a moderate price, sometimes even under prime cost. The pine-apple shape is the best for keeping; and it should be kept in a common earthen jar, with a wet cloth tied over the mouth of it.

The voyage from Calcutta to Cawnpore is generally considered to occupy a space of three months; to Futteh Ghur a week longer; and to Ghur Moktasir Ghaut, near Meerat, twenty days more.

Embarking from Calcutta during the months of March, April, or May, it will be necessary to surround the budgerow with tatties, or blinds, made on a bamboo frame to fit the windows, covered with the fibrous roots of a sweet-scented grass called *cus cus*, which will last the voyage, and by being watered from the top of the budgerow, render the apartments cool and comfortable. Although these roots are firmly wove together, they by no means exclude the light. Of an evening, after the sun is set, they are removed entirely, and replaced in the morning. The hot wind seldom blows so violently as to require them, except from about nine o'clock in the morning until sun-set; the hottest time is from twelve o'clock until five in the afternoon. The clashee will procure these tatties, and is the proper person to superintend the watering them, &c. If you have palankeen bearers on board, they ought to assist.

A small book, called Hadley's Grammar, (which can be purchased at any bookseller's in Calcutta,) is also a necessary appendage to prevent being imposed upon by the representation of any servant who may speak a little English, and thereby gain an ascendancy over his master to the prejudice of the rest. These men are frequently met with in Calcutta, and are always ready to serve a new comer; but they are generally people of low caste, and not to be depended upon.

Leaving Calcutta with the tide, you generally reach a place called *Bally Nuggur* before it turns, unless indeed the wind blows strong against you. This place is inhabited entirely by natives. Here you cast anchor, and remain until the tide serves again; and having passed the Danish settlement of *Serampore*, the French one of *Chandanagore*, arrive at that of the Dutch called *Chinsurah*, where you encounter the second tide. You may indeed, if you are fortunate, reach a place called *Banse Bareah*, which is two hours farther; but here nothing is procurable except provision for natives. The boats are moored at sunset, and unmoored at sunrise, it being dangerous on account of shoals to travel after dark. When you come to, for the night, (which it is advisable on many accounts to do before sunset,) the boatmen cook their victuals, which operations is performed on the shore by means of small stoves, formed from a loomy kind of earth of which these banks are composed. Their cooking utensils are not cumbersome: one large brass, or iron pot, serves to boil rice for all of the same caste, while each man carries his brass platter, and *lota*, of the same material, to drink out of.

It is usual to start the boats at day-break, but they manage it so quietly as not to disturb your repose. *Sook Saugor* is the next place, and is about seven hours from *Banse Bareah*; from hence you may with ease reach *Ballypore* by sun-set. Milk may be procured at all these villages, and some kinds of vegetable; but no poultry or eggs, except where Mussulmen reside.

Start at day-break next morning, and in eight hours you reach *Cubna*. From thence to *Mirzapore* is five hours farther, where you had better remain for the night, and may procure all sorts of provisions. This place contains many Europeans, and is celebrated for the manufacture of carpets, printed chintz, &c. Purchase *punkahs* here.

From *Mirzapore* to *Nuddeah* is seven hours; from *Nuddeah* to the entrance of the *Jaliny* river, an hour and a half; from the *Jaliny* to *Stuart Gunge*, three hours.

From *Stuart Gunge* to a small village called *Meahpoorah*, six hours; and from thence to *Chandpoorah*, six hours. This latter is a miserably poor place; it is therefore better to stop at the first good bank for legowing upon after quitting *Chandpoorah*; of this, the mangy or captain of the crew will inform you. It is always desirable to keep him in good humour, by attending a little to his advice, as on him depends in a great measure both your expedition and comfort on the voyage.

From *Chandpoorah* to *Augur Deep* is ten hours good pulling, oftener twelve. The river between these places winds so much, that it takes nearly a day to arrive, where the distance in a straight line would not be above three miles.

From *Angur Deep* to *Dewarrah Gunge* is four hours; from *Dewarrah Gunge* to *Cutwah*, eight more.

From *Cutwah* to *Plassey* (the scene of Lord Clive's victory over the *Bengalees*, which first gave us footing in the country) is nine hours. This is a fine sporting country, but dangerous on account of tigers.

From *Plassey* to *Satan Gunge* is twelve hours; *Satan Gunge* to *Rangamully*, four hours; *Rangamully* to *Berhampore*, eight hours. This is the nearest station to Calcutta which contains European soldiers, except the artillery cantonment of *Dum Dum*; but that is ten miles on the other side Calcutta, and inland. *Berhampore* contains besides a King's regiment of infantry, one or more battalions of seapoys, and is famous for sundry manufactures, which they bring to the boats for sale; such as stockings, silk handkerchiefs, &c. There are, besides, two shops kept by Englishmen, which are well supplied with articles from England of all description, sold at the average of a rupee for a shilling. The officers' barracks are about two hundred yards inland: they are handsome, and regularly built, forming a square, one side of which fronts the river. The bank on which they stand is high, sloping, and turfed to the water's edge, with here and there a flight of stone steps for the accommodation of passengers. The parade runs along the edge of it. This station is commanded by a general officer, to whom you are expected, through his brigade major, to report your arrival, and ask his orders; and in like manner report *progress*, as it is called, at every military station upon the river, and also to the adjutant of your regiment, wherever that may be.

From *Berhampore*, the city of *Moorshedabad* is about seven hours tracking, although by land the distance is only seven miles. The river at this place is low at all seasons, and the numerous boats *legowed* to its banks contribute to impede the voyager. The boat's crew provide themselves here, with rice for their voyage, it being very plentiful in this part; and the higher they proceed up the country, the more scarce, and consequently dearer it becomes. Sugar is also remarkably cheap at *Moorshedabad*.

A little beyond this city is the entrance of a small river called the *Kattaghan*, which it is adviseable to pass, and to fasten your boat on the opposite side, the inhabitants of *Moorshedabad* not being famed for honesty.

From hence to *Kissenpoorah* (a small village) it is six hours; from *Kissenpoorah* to *Jungypoor*, six more. At the latter is a manufactory for silks, under the control of the commercial resident.

From *Jungypoor* to *Sooty* is six hours.

To *Kasseinpoor* six more.

From *Kusseinpoor* to *Mohun Gunge*, nine hours; and from hence to the entrance of the Ganges, three hours more.

Having now quitted the *Baughareddy* or *Cossimbazar* river, you proceed by the left bank of the Ganges, without seeing more than a few scattered huts, until sun-set.

From hence to *Radge Mahl* is seven hours. Here the ruin of a magnificent palace, formerly belonging to the Rajah, may be seen; and here, every

day about noon, the postmen from East to West meet, and exchange their despatches, which affords the traveller an opportunity of communication either way. Bread, vegetables, kid, (which is a great delicacy in this country,) fowls, eggs, fruit, and charcoal, are found here in great abundance. The inhabitants sell also marble slabs to press paper, carved into various shapes. This is almost the widest part of the river, and in the rainy season has the appearance of an ocean.

From *Radge Mahl* to *Sickerry Gulley* is fourteen hours. This is a station for invalid seapoys, with a small bungalow belonging to the superintending officer of these establishments. This part of the country abounds with beasts of prey. *Radge Mahl* is the nearest approach that the river makes to that ridge of mountains which runs in a north-west direction from Calcutta, and are called the *Radge Mahl* hills.

From hence you quickly pass the small village of *Saabad*, and in two hours more that of *Gunga Pursaad*. Here it is advisable to *legow* for the night, as you will not find so good a place for many miles. The finest honey in India is to be procured here, and very cheap. From *Gunga Pursaad* to *Sickerry Gully* is about five hours' tracking. This is a Hindoo village, and nothing to be got except milk.

The next village of any consequence is *Pier Ponty*, which you ought to reach in twelve hours.

From *Pier Ponty* to *Puttal Guttah* is a hard day's pull; but there is generally a breeze of wind near the hills, which carries the boat forward in opposition to the stream.

The next place is *Col Gong*, which you may reach about sun-set on the following day. It contains a good bazaar, and the houses of several European officers of the Company's service who reside here upon their pensions, besides one or two indigo planters.

Move forward at day-break the following morning, about ten o'clock you will pass a *nullah*; and at three reach the populous village of *Boggliopore*. This is a station for seapoys commanded by European officers; a judge, collector, &c. A peculiar description of cloth is manufactured here, which takes its name from the place. It is advisable to remain at *Boggliopore* for the night. The best ghaut to *legow* at, is called *Bibee Gunge*.

Cast off the boats at day-break, and towards evening you will reach the village of *Chea Cheraigne*.

About ten the next morning you will pass the *Jinghira* Rock, about half-past one the *Gurgut Nullah*, and at sun-set find nothing but a patch of sand to *legow* upon; it is therefore advisable to stop at the first good ground you meet with, after passing the *Nullah*.

The next place is *Pier Pahar*, where the stream runs so strong, that unless you have a breeze to stem it, you will not reach *Monghir* until seven or eight at night. At *Monghir* are some curious hot springs, and many other things worth seeing. It is a large station for invalid seapoys, commanded by a general officer. Birds of beautiful plumage are offered for sale, but they will not live away from their native hills.

Pass the end of two *nullahs*, and come to a village inhabited by seapoy pensioners, near *Soorage Gurrah*.

From *Soorage Gurrah* to *Bareah*, which is a good legowing place, may be done in about seven hours.

From *Bareah* to *Deriapore* (twenty koss from *Monghir*) will take the whole day: it is better to legow before you arrive there, as a koss or two beyond it, you will find nothing but sand.

Pass a bungalow at *Sennaar*, and come too at the village of *Bar*, about four koss farther, where, as there are Mussulmen inhabitants, many articles of consumption are procurable. The water about *Bar* is shallow, and the current rather strong.

About six miles from *Bar* is an indigo factory. Pass *Bidapore*.

From *Bar* to *Patna* is full twenty-four hours.

From *Patna* to *Dinapore* about eight hours.

At *Seerpoor*, a little beyond *Dinapore*, the boat's crew lay in a stock of rice for the remainder of the voyage.

Pass the *Soane River*, which is famous for beautiful pebbles and fine clear water, to *Cheraigne*, *Wilton Gunge*, and *Chuprah*.

From *Chuprah* to *Revel Gunge* is three koss and a half, a good legowing place.

Pass the mouth of the *Deewah River*, and reach *Berhampore Ghaut* by sun-set.

Pass the village of *Berreah*, and come too for the night at a small place on the right, about two koss beyond it.

About eleven o'clock the next morning pass *Bulleah* and reach the fort of *Buxar* in the evening. At *Buxar* it is necessary to wait on the commanding officer.

Pass the *Caramnassa River* to the village of *Chowra*.

From *Chowra* you proceed to *Arampore*, and from *Arampore* to *Ghazipore*, which is a large military station. Report your arrival to the commanding officer.

From *Ghazipore* you come to *Zemineah*, *Chursapore*, and to an indigo factory at *Danapoora*, in twelve hours.

From *Danapoora* you may reach *Sidepoor* in seven hours; to the end of the *Goomty*, (or winding river,) in two hours more; *Kylce*, in one hour; and *Kataroury*, in two hours. This place is a koss and a half (about three miles) from *Bulwar Ghaut*.

Move next morning at six o'clock, you will pass *Bulwar Ghaut* about nine; a small brick town named *Kylce*, about two; and reach *Radge Ghaut*, at *Benares*, in the evening, in good time to legow.

From *Benares* to opposite little *Mursapore* takes about three hours fair tracking; and to the cantonment at *Sultanpore*, (or *chutah Calcutta*,) nine hours more.

From *Sultanpore* to the fort at *Chunar*, six hours.

From *Chunar* to *Badsulah*, (on the other side the river,) ten hours.

From *Badsulah* to *Kutchwah Ghaut*, six hours.

From *Kutchwah Ghaut* to *Mirzapore*, seven hours.

From *Mirzapore* to *Jehangeerabad*, three hours.

From *Jehangeerabad* to *Bahaderpoora*, five hours and a half.

From *Bahaderpoora* to *Charracoar*, five hours.

From *Charracoar* to *Diggah*, (distant only ten koss in a straight line *Mirzapore*,) five hours.

From *Diggah* to *Barrarie*, seven hours.

From *Barrarie* to *Tellah*, four hours.

From *Tellah* to *Sersah*, ten hours.

From *Sersah* to *Dumdumaye*, three hours.

From *Dumdumaye* to *Derah*, twelve hours.

From *Derah* to the fort at *Allahabad*, seven or eight hours, if the wind is not against you, and the water calm; but the stream in this part is very strong, and the river in many places very shallow; it is therefore advisable to land on the *Jumna* side of the fort, and proceeding across the promontory in a palankeen, sending the boats round to a place called *Taylor Gunge*, which will take them nearly a day to accomplish. At *Allahabad* supplies of every description may be procured. Here it is necessary to wait upon the commanding officer in the fort, and report your name, rank, and destination.

From *Taylor Gunge* to *Ramohowdah*, (ten koss by land from *Allahabad*,) will take ten hours.

From *Ramohowdah* to *Jehanabad*, three hours.

From *Jehanabad* to *Acharpore*, four hours.

From *Acharpore* to *Konkerabad*, six hours and a half.

From *Konkerabad* to *Shaw Zadabad*, four hours.

From *Shaw Zadabad* to *Kurrah*, three hours. Muslin and cloth of the coarser kinds are manufactured here.

From *Kurrah* to *Mannickpore*, three hours and a half.

From *Mannickpore* to *Kerah Nugger*, six hours.

From *Kerah Nugger* to *Bunderpoor*, one hour and a half.

From *Bunderpoor* to *Nobusta Ghaut*, five hours and a half.

From *Nobusta* to *Ochree*, six hours and a half.

From *Ochree* to *Dalmow* the river is particularly shallow, and abounds in quick-sands; it is therefore almost impossible to say how long a budgerow will take tracking it, as the dandies are obliged to walk the greatest part of the distance up to their waists in water, and are frequently detained to push the boat off a sand-bank. If no such impediment should occur, the usual time is about eight hours.

From *Dalmow* you pass the villages of *Kutterah*, *Garassen*, and *Singapore*, on the left; while on the right hand those of *Kosroopore*, *Hajipore*, and *Adempore*. Reach *Rowaadpore* from *Dalmow* in twelve hours.

Rowaadpore to *Buxar* and *Doreah Kerah*, in seven hours.

Doreah Kerah to *Sooragepore*, three hours.

Sooragepore to *Nuseeb Ghur*, ten hours. At the latter is a large brick house built by General Martine, a Frenchman. He had another large house at *Lucknow*, and a fine estate near it called *Lac Peery*, which means a

thousand trees.* On this spot he erected a superb palace and tomb: the latter he soon after occupied. He was a man of low origin, great abilities, and made immense sums of money by various speculations. He came to India an adventurer, was formerly a general in the Mahratta service, but latterly a general merchant. His character was most eccentric; he caused two centinels of wood, the height and size of men, dressed in the uniform of a British artilleryman, to be placed on either side his tomb, where a lamp is kept constantly burning. He has directed by his will that the house at *Lac Perry* should be at the service of any European gentleman, or lady, to reside in for *one* month at a time, but no longer. It is in charge of the officer commanding at Lucknow. A large sum of money is also bequeathed to his native city of Lyons, in France. The origin of this man's fortune is said to have been collecting dead leaves, and selling them to the natives for fuel.

From *Nuseeb Ghur* to *Madarapore*, seven hours.

Madarapore to *Jaugemow*, three hours.

Jaugemow to the east end of *Cawnpore*, five hours.

Cawnpore is the largest military station, and depot in the upper provinces, or indeed on this side of India. It is six miles in extent, and contains excellent accommodation for ten thousand troops.

From *Cawnpore* to *Betoor* takes twelve hours. This place is a station for civilians, who manage the revenue and judicial departments at *Cawnpore*, from which it is distant about twelve *koss*. It is celebrated by the Hindoos as one of their most ancient places of worship, and is therefore resorted to, at particular seasons of the year, by an immense concourse of people, who line the banks of the Ganges for many miles.

From *Betoor* to the village of *Dyepore* is about twelve hours. Here is a bungalow and an indigo factory.

Dyepore to the entrance of the *Ram Gunga* river, is twelve hours.

To *Singerampore*, twelve more.

Singerampore to *Futty Ghur*, twelve hours—that is, from sun-rise to sun-set.

From *Futty Ghur* it is about twenty days' tracking to *Ghur Moktasir Ghaut*, (the nearest point at which a boat can approach *Meerat*.) Pass many small villages, but no place worthy notice until you reach the large brick town of *Kurrah*, about the second or third day from *Futty Ghur*.

Remember to lay in a stock of supplies for one month before you leave *Futty Ghur*, as nothing more can be got until you arrive at *Meerat*.

From *Kurrah*, two or three hours brings you to *Sooragapore*, a small Hindoo village.

Sooragapore to *Budrowlee*, eight hours. This is capital legowing ground, except that the banks are low, and a number of alligators are generally to be

*(Sic. in Ms. Ed. B. P. & P.)

seen upon them; a great variety of waterfowl frequent also this part of the river, particularly wild geese, in such flights as often to darken the atmosphere.

From *Budrowlee* you pass an uninteresting country to *Olye Ghaut*, and from thence to *Heronpore*.

From *Heronpore* to *Kirkawara*, near which place much wheat is cultivated.

Kirkawara to *Ram Ghaut*, where there is a superb palace built by the *Rajah* of *Jyepoor*. Hindoos flock here in great numbers at stated periods of the year to make offerings to the Ganges, and perform ablutions. *Ram Ghaut* was formerly the resort of *Scindia* and the *Mahratta* chiefs. The palace is built upon a rising ground, about a hundred yards from the shore: it fronts the river—is surrounded by lofty trees. At the bottom of the garden is a flight of stone steps, upon an extensive scale, leading into the river. The town appears flourishing, and is built down to the water's edge.

A number of projecting banks impede the progress of the navigator until he reaches *Anopsheer*, which is considered about half way between *Futty Ghur* and *Meerut*.

The shores now assume a more pleasing prospect: luxuriant pasture, with numerous herds of cattle feeding on it, relieves the eye; and the adjacent country appears well wooded.

The village of *Ahar* contains some good brick houses, and a handsome Ghaut; but the river near it is very shallow.

At *Bussy Gusserat*, the next place of any consequence, there is capital legowing ground; and farther on, a village called *Sukerah Telah*, a great mart for trade.

To *Sukerah Telah* succeeds the village of *Poote*, where some Hindoo places of worship render the scene peculiarly picturesque. The most striking feature is a spacious flight of stone steps, highly ornamented, and shaded by trees down a sloping bank to the water's edge.

From this place to *Ghur Moktasir Ghaut*, is not more than a day's tracking.

Meerut lies about forty miles inland from *Ghur Moktasir Ghaut*.

From "A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan comprising a period between the year 1804 and 1814": by A. D. [Ann Deane], pp. 267-186.

London C. and J. Rivington, 1823.

H. E. Stapleton's list of Tombs of Historic Interest in Dacca Cemetery.

MAY 1924.

1. Major Gen. Hamilton Vetch, Bengal Army, June 11, 1865 (P. W. D. No. 3).
2. Penelope wife of William Keats, D. I. G. Hospitals, Dec. 4, 1868 (P. W. D. No. 8).
3. H. H. Morris, I.C.S., Killed by fall from his horse, Jan. 3, 1868 (P. W. D. No. 10).
4. Capt. G. Wise, Zemindar and indigo planter, Jan. 30, 1856 (P. W. D. No. 45).
5. J. H. Wright, Madras Staff Corps: Exec. Engr. Dacca Divn. and W. H. Lyttelton W. his infant son, Aug. 24, 1863 (P. W. D. No. 48).
6. Col. W. H. Thomson, C.B., Bengal, N. I., May 18, 1858 (P. W. D. No. 53).
7. H. Clark, M.A., Bengal Civil Service, Jun. 20, 1870 (P. W. D. No. 58).
8. Capt. E. G. Stone, Bengal Staff Corps, Nov. 5, 1864 (P. W. D. No. 75).
9. Lt. W. A. Castle, Adj. 38th Regt., N. I., Nov. 16, 1852 (P. W. D. No. 84).
10. A. D. Coull, Secretary, Dacca Bank, Oct. 29, 1852 (P. W. D. No. 85).
11. Lt. R. Travers, Adj., Kamroop Regt. of Infantry, Apr. 1, 1860 (P. W. D. No. 90).
12. Capt. C. Scott, 27th Regt., N. I., May 3, 1847 (P. W. D. No. 93).
13. A. Simpson, M.D., Civil Surgeon of Dacca, Nov. 14, 1864 (P. W. D. No. 112).
14. Capt. C. J. Harrison, Sub. Asst. Commissary Genl., Dec. 6, 1848 (P. W. D. No. 113).
15. Lt. J. J. Macdonell, Adj., 74th Regt., N.I., Aug. 2, 1857 (P. W. D. No. 115).
16. Lt. H. Mainwaring, late 3rd Regt., N. I., Jul. 22, 1807 (P. W. D. No. 119).
17. Christopher Roberts, 3rd Judge of Appeal and Circuit, Dacca, May 4, 1806, (P. W. D. No. 121).
18. Mutiny Memorial: 5 able Seamen and one Gunner: Killed at attack on Lal Bagh, Nov. 22, 1857 (P. W. D. No. 130A).
19. Capt. E. B. Pryce, Oct. 24, 1825 (P. W. D. No. 137).
20. W. Lance, B.C.S., Collector of Land Revenue, Aug. 11, 1822 (P. W. D. No. 138).
21. C. Taylor, Sen. Merchant, H.E.I.C.S., Jan. 29, 1797 (P. W. D. No. 139).
22. Capt. R. Maxwell, Comdg. 35th Battn., N. I., Oct. 28, 1792 (P. W. D. No. 142).

23. J. Patterson, Commercial Resident, and his infant son, May 22, 1817, Mar. 26, 1817 (P. W. D. No. 147).
24. R. Lindsay, Factor, H.E.I.C.S., Dec. 18, 1778 (P. W. D. No. 150).
25. Ensign G. Middleton, Oct. 17, 1789 (P. W. D. No. 151).
26. Francis Law, Commercial Resident, Sep. 22, 1792 (P. W. D. No. 155).
27. Col. W. Burton, Dacca Provl. Battn., Nov. 26, 1817 (P. W. D. No. 157).
28. Mrs. C. Burton, wife of Maj. W. Burton, Jul. 11, 1809 (P. W. D. No. 158).
29. Mrs. C. G. Cooper, wife of Capt. H. E. G. Cooper, Bengal, N. I., Jun. 11, 1811 (P. W. D. No. 160).
30. Francis Wm. Ulric Gladwin, 13th N. I. (son of Francis Gladwin), Aug. 27, 1822 (P. W. D. No. 161).
31. S. Bayard, C. S., Member, Circuit & Appeal Ct., May 9, 1801 (P. W. D. No. 166).
32. Mrs. E. L. Robinson, wife of W. Robinson, Insp. of Schools, N. Bengal and Assam, Sep. 5, 1859 (P. W. D. No. 169).
33. Shearman Bird, Jr. H.E.I.C.S., Oct. 4, 1824 (P. W. D. No. 177).
34. H. Holland, H.E.I.C.S., Apr. 16, 1800 (P. W. D. No. 191).
35. S. Macan, Judge and Magte. of Benares, Jun. 6, 1808 (P. W. D. No. 197).
36. Jane dau. of James & Jane Renell, Jul. 29, 1774 (P. W. D. No. 209).
37. H. W. Money, H.E.I.C.S., Aug. 4, 1825 (P. W. D. No. 212).
38. J. Drew, Collr. of Land Rev. and Customs, Jan. 29, 1829 (P. W. D. No. 214).
39. C. H. Wintour, Capt., N. I., Sep. 13, 1834 (P. W. D. No. 222).
40. Col. W. Bydell, comdg. Dacca Prov. Battn., June 5, 1819 (P. W. D. No. 223).
41. J. Hollow, Zemindar, May 3, 1834 (P. W. D. No. 227).
42. Lt. Col. W. H. Cooper, C.B., May 8, 1822 (P. W. D. No. 237).
43. N. Clerembault, Chief of English Factory (Tablet affixed in Colombo Sahib's tomb), Nov. 16, 1753 (P. W. D. No. 247).
44. Thomas Feake, Chief of Dacca, Oct. 1, 1750 (P. W. D. No. 248).
45. Rev. Joseph Paget (Protected mont.), Mar. 26, 1724 (P. W. D. No. 249).
46. Colombo Sahib (date given in P. W. D. List), (1728), (P. W. D. No. 254).
47. J. D. Patterson, Judge and Magte. of Dacca, May 27, 1809 (P. W. D. No. 268).
48. D. Lankheet, Chief for Hon'ble Dutch Co., Dacca, May 1, 1775 (P. W. D. No. 269).
49. W. Shewen, late 3rd of Council at this Factory, Sep. 14, 1766, R. Shewen, his wife, also their infant son Arthur, Jan. 7, 1766 (P. W. D. No. 275).
50. A. C. Lankheet, wife of D. Lankheet, Jul. 10, 1768 (P. W. D. No. 277).
51. W. Kerkman, Chief of Dutch Co., Dacca, Apr. 13, 1774 (P. W. D. No. 278).
52. Mrs. Eliza Holwell (no tablet tomb), 1746 (P. W. D. No. 285).

53. J. Mills, Assistant Surgeon, Oct. 16, 1773 (P. W. D. No. 291).
54. C. Watkins, Writer, H.E.I.C.S., Jun. 25, 1726 (P. W. D. No. 293).
55. Lt. Col. T. C. Watson, 53rd Regt., N. I., Apr. 30, 1834 (P. W. D. No. 297).
56. W. A. C. Plowden, B.C.S. (died at Noacolly), Aug. 22, 1817 (P. W. D. No. 298).
57. Nathaniel Hall, Factor, H.E.I.C.S., Sept. 13, 1725 (P. W. D. No. 303).
58. E. Craufurd, wife of R. Craufurd, Jun. 22, 1776 (P. W. D. No. 306).
59. R. Crauford, Factor, H.E.I.C.S. (a double tomb), Aug. 22, 1776 (P. W. D. No. 307).
60. Ensign C. P. Clay, N. I., Nov. 14, 1841 (P. W. D. No. 334).
61. R. B. Duncan, Surgeon, N. I., Oct. 17, 1843 (P. W. D. No. 335).
62. P. W. Pechell, H.E.I.C.S., Judge of Provl. Cts. of Appeal and Circuit, Dacca, May 25, 1821 (P. W. D. No. 343).
63. Elizabeth, wife of Major R. Blackall, N. I., Jan. 2, 1835 (P. W. D. No. 348).
64. C. J. Davidson, B.C.S., Apr. 1, 1839 (P. W. D. No. 349).
65. Brig. Gen. J. H. Dunkin, H. M. 44th Regt. (Endowed), Nov. 11, 1825 (P. W. D. No. 362).
66. Eliza, wife of F. Law, H.E.I.C.S., Judge of Provl. Courts of Appeal & Circuit, Nov. 21, 1827 (P. W. D. No. 364).
67. Matthew Law, H.E.I.C.S., Mar. 3, 1830 (P. W. D. No. 371).
68. Ensign F. A. Gaskoin, N. I., Oct. 2, 1846 (P. W. D. No. 372).
69. R. Doucett, Zemindar, Oct. 10, 1848 (P. W. D. No. 393).
70. Rev. C. F. Supper, Baptist Missionary, Oct. 2, 1871 (P. W. D. No. 400).
71. A. Abercrombie, B.C.S., Dec. 30, 1873 (P. W. D. No. 407).
72. W. F. Campbell, Agent Tipperah Raj, Aug. 9, 1874 (P. W. D. No. 410).
73. R. D. Nuthall, Supdt. Elephant Kheddahs, Oct. 22, 1878 (P. W. D. No. 416).
74. Rev. B. D. Behr., Chaplain, Dacca, Jan. 4, 1881 (P. W. D. No. 420).
75. C. K. Hudson, manager for Inglis and Co., Sylhet; formerly Political Agent, Cossya and Jyntia Hills, Sep. 7, 1881 (P. W. D. No. 428).
76. John Boxwell, C.S., Commissioner of Dacca (Inscription in Latin), 1891 (P. W. D. No. 448).
77. T. L. L. Jenkins, I.C.S. (endowed), Jul. 20, 1894 (P. W. D. No. 453).
78. W. Tutin, Surgeon, Bengal Establishment, Dec. 5, 1815 (P. W. D. No. 246).
79. Sarah Pott, relict of Robert Percival Pott 1807 (P. W. D. No. 140).
80. Agnes, infant dau. of D. R. Lyall, I.C.S., 1868 (close to No. 85). (No. 85).
81. Infant dau. of Arthur Littledale, B.C.S. (aft. Judge of Arrah: one of garrison in 1857 close to No. 254).
82. "My X Esenby", Dec. 25, 1789 (P. W. D. No. 144).
83. Wonsi Quan: erected by his friend Wong. Chow, 1796 (P. W. D. No. 148).



CAPT. ARCHIBALD SWINTON, HIS WIFE AND SON.

The Journals of Archibald Swinton.

BY SIR EVAN COTTON, C.I.E.

IN the highly appreciative review of the Calcutta Historical Society and its work, which appeared in "The Times Literary Supplement" for September 18, 1924 (1), mention was made of the memoirs of Captain Archibald Swinton, which were privately printed in 1908 by Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame (in Berwickshire). I have been able through the kindness of Captain G. S. C. Swinton, L.C.C., to obtain a copy of the volume and have received permission to make extracts. Captain Swinton is the grandson of John Swinton, the eldest son of Archibald Swinton.

The year of Archibald Swinton's birth is given as 1731. He was the fourth son of John Swinton of Swinton in Peebles-shire by Mary Semple, and had eleven brothers and sisters. After studying surgery at Edinburgh, he engaged at the age of twenty as surgeon's mate on an East Indiaman. The journey from Edinburgh to London by road took him ten days—from December 11 to December 20, 1751. On Wednesday, January 8, 1752, he "fell down the river" and eight days later sailed from the Downs. On March 29 the ship touched at the Cape. The voyage was resumed on April 10, and Madras Roads were reached on June 10. Six weeks after he went ashore he volunteered to join Clive who was undertaking the campaign in the Carnatic which was signalized by the taking of Arcot and Conjeveram. There was, writes Swinton, "a great Tomashy on my apprenticeship being ended".

On August 28, 1752, Clive left Fort Saint George with his little force of 200 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and eight officers, of whom six had never before been in action, and captured Arcot three days later. Subsequent events are thus recorded by Swinton in his journal:—

25th January, 1753	...	Went to Arcot.
21st April	...	Wounded.
14th July, 1754	...	Went from Arcot to Madrass.
22nd July	...	Went from Madras to Chingleput.
20th October	...	Rode from Chingleput to Madrass, [a distance of sixty miles] in the space of 4 hours and gained 2,600 rupees.
3rd November, 1755	...	Left Chingleput, and quitted the Company's Service.
8th March, 1756	...	Was again engaged in ye service.
15th March	...	Imbarked for the Negrals and arrived 12th August.

Ships had been despatched from Madras to the assistance of the little English Settlement on Negrais island at the extreme south end of Arakan, which had been established about the year 1751. The kingdom of Ava, of which the place formed a part, was in dispute between the "Peguers" and the Burmans. The English had sided first with the one and then with the other. A powerful Burmese fleet was now assembled on the coast, and this was attacked by the English ships which forced the crews to take refuge in the groves on shore. Some days later ammunition was exhausted and the English, with their French allies and the "Peguers," retired to Syriam, six miles East of Rangoon, at the junction of the Pegu and Rangoon rivers, where there was also an English factory (2). Negotiations followed, and battles by land and skirmishes by sea. There was a massacre of the English factors at Negrais (3), the survivors swimming wounded to the ships; and the English fleet sailed up the river towards Ava, only to be seized there. It is uncertain how long Swinton, who was serving as surgeon's mate or surgeon, remained to take part in these events: but it would appear that he accompanied Lieutenant Lister on a mission to Ava in July, 1757, for he preserved a manuscript account of the expedition, written by Lister.

In 1759 he was on board the *Hardwicke* Indiaman, when she anchored on October 6 in the road of Ganjam, in the Northern Circars (4). France and England being at war, the Captain hoisted Dutch colours, and with a pretended tale of want of provisions slipped up under the French Fort. They received by a catamaran a note from Monsieur Moraçin, the commandant, demanding the name of the ship and whence she came. In reply, Captain Brook Samson sent a letter in which he says:—"As I have now obtained all the intelligence I think necessary (pardon therefore the means used for it), it is needless further to conceal what I really am, and for what purpose I come. Know then that the ship is the English *Hardwick*, that

(2) Cf. the petition presented by Edward Fleetwood to the King of Burmah at Ava in 1695 (quoted in Dalrymple's *Oriental Repository*, 2 vols. 4to, 1808). The prayer is made therein "that the old House and Ground at Syriam, formerly belonging to the English Company, may still be continued to them." In 1727 Alexander Hamilton describes "the Bar of Syriam" as "the only port now open for Trade in all the Pegu Dominions." Ralph Fitch visited Syriam, which he calls Cirion, in 1587, and Father Andrew Boves, S. J., in 1600. Very little is known of the history of this English factory.

(3) Cf. Letter of February 19, 1763, in the *Fort William Consultations*: "It gives us pleasure to observe that the King of the Burmahs, who caused our people at Negrais to be so cruelly massacred, is since dead, and succeeded by his son, who seems to be of a more friendly and humane disposition."

(4) The *Hardwicke*, with three other Indiaman, the *Ilchester*, the *Thames*, and the *Worcester*, sailed from the mouth of the Hooghly for the Northern Circars on October, 5, 1758 with Colonel Francis Forde and a detachment of troops on board: and reached Vizagapatam on October 20. Conflans the French General, was defeated on December 7 at the battle of Condore (or Peddapore), and Rajahmundry was occupied on December 8. Thirty seamen from the *Hardwicke* took part in the capture of Masulipatam which fell on April 7, 1759, after twenty-nine days' siege. Swinton must have participated in these operations but there is no mention of them in the papers.

about a month ago, Colonel Clive received a letter from Narraindoo (5) by a Harker (6) informing him of your being in the country, and proposing if he would send a party of Sepoys and Europeans down to Ganjam he would join them to his forces and cut off your party. The troops I have aboard with an answer to Narraindoo but am willing before going to extremities to put it in your power to give a termination to our Expedition, more agreeable to you as well as to us."

An amicable arrangement not having been effected, a Harker with a letter and one sepoy was sent to Narraindoo, "the Native Power", and Swinton went ashore in the jolly boat to take soundings. The letter, of which there is a copy in the Swinton papers, says that the ship "was sent from Bengal by Colonel Clive," and asks Narraindoo to "concert measures to ridd us both of our common enemy". Narraindoo answers: "We have seen your ship eight days, and knew not it was English. We understood from Calcutta that your ship was to be sent, and are overjoyed to see you. If you will send some Europeans and sepoys and four guns ashore, we will immediately engage the enemy".

Next evening Swinton went ashore again about nine o'clock and was conducted to a village about five miles distant, where he stayed until the Rajah should be informed of his arrival. The messenger returned about three in the morning with a horse and palanquin, which the Rajah had sent together with an escort of one hundred Sepoys, requesting that he would set out immediately, and he would come to meet him. Swinton set out accordingly and met the Rajah, before daybreak, near the camp of "Pallar his Dewanzer" (7) which "is about five miles from the above village, his own camp being about three miles beyond that." The Rajah received him with great civility; earnestly pressed him to bring ashore some troops to his assistance, and offered him the command of his army. Swinton spent the day in reconnoitring the Fort, and inspecting the Rajah's troops. There were only fifty Sepoys and fifteen volunteers aboard the *Hardwicke* besides the ship's crew.

The Rajah proceeded to surround the fort, so that the French could not go beyond a radius of two miles. Those on the ship, meanwhile, began to grow anxious, as the following record will show:—

[October] 13th.—No appearance of Mr. Swinton.

14th.—Heard a report of three or four guns, and soon after observed a body of horse and some foot on the top of a hill near the Fort. Could distinguish Mr. Swinton by his red cloaths. As we imagined, the Rajah or some of his great people were with him. Mr. Samson saluted him with eleven guns, and sent his boat ashore. Mr. Swinton returned in her about three in the afternoon.

(5) Anandraz, the Rajah of Vizianagram: "the worst enemy of the French in the Chicacole Circar" (Maltby's Ganjam District Manual, 1882).

(6) Hirkarrah, hurkaru: messenger.

(7) Query: dewanji. The transcription is defective.

15th.—A letter came from the Rajah asking Mr. Swinton to come ashore to determine what to do. Mr. Swinton, and Mr. Samson went ashore. The Rajah offered, if Colonel Clive would make an alliance with him, he would deliver up Ganjam, Calingapatam, Maphisbunder, and Sunapore (8), but after Mr. Swinton spends all night reconnoitring the Fort, Mr. Samson comes to the conclusion we have not enough men to attack it, so wrote accordingly to the Rajah; promises to acquaint Colonel Clive with the situation, and says he was obliged to sail for Calcutta, and he sends a Harcar to Colonel Ford letting him know how affairs are.

News had been received of trouble with the Dutch, and the *Hardwicke* made all possible speed for the Hooghly. Swinton preserved among his papers the following account of the events which led to Ford's victory on November 25, 1759, at Biderra or Badara, a village midway between Chandernagore and Chinsurah. Although the name of the battle is almost forgotten, it deserves to be reckoned among the decisive battles of British Indian history, for it eliminated the Dutch as a factor in "country" politics. Forde and Randfurlie Knox had arrived in Bengal before Swinton, fresh from the defeat of Conflans at Condore (December 7, 1758) and the capture of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam (December 8, 1758, and April 8, 1759).

* * * * *

NARRATIVE OF THE DISPUTES SUBSISTING BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH IN BENGAL IN NOVEMBER 1759.

"Early in August we received advice that a powerful Armament was fitting out and embarking. Destined as was rumour'd for Bengal. On representation of this by the Governor the Nabob sent a Perwannah to the Dutch prohibiting them from bringing Troops into Bengal. Soon after one of their ships arrived in the River with European Troops & Buggosis (9) on board. On this the Nabob sent a second Perwannah & order'd Omar Beg Cawn, Fouzder of Houghly, to join the Govr. with a body of Troops. Early in October the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn arrived at Calcutta on a visit to the Govr. During his stay six or seven more Dutch capital ships crammed with soldiers and baggage arrived in the river and now the Dutch mask fell off. The Nabob left Calcutta the 19th October. We as Allies of the Nabob and under his colours, had on the arrival of the first ship stopt & searched their Boats coming up the River & finding

(8) *Maphisbunder* or Mahfuzbandar, is the Muhammadan name for the town of Chicacole, in the Ganjam district.

Sunapore, or Sonapore, is a port in the Ganjam district, fourteen miles south of Berhampore. It was in 1768 the principal shipping place of the Ichapur province: but is now of little or no importance.

(9) Buggosis, buggoses, or bugis—sepoys recruited in the islands of the Malay Archipelago: orig. the name of a tribe in Celebes.

18 Buggoses conceal'd in one of them, sent them back to their ships. Now the Dutch themselves openly commenced Hostilities by attacking with shott and seizing seven of our vessels (amongst which was the *Leopard* snow, Capt. Barclay) & tore down our colors. On this we concluded with the greatest probability that the Dutch had received intelligence of a Rupture between them and us in Europe, or that they were sure of the Nabob's joining them, or of his standing neuter at least. Wrote to the Nabob that now we considered the quarrel as subsisting between the Dutch and us *only* desired that he would leave chastising them to us, and Desist from sending his son, or any part of his Army to our assistance.

"Our whole force then consisted of 240 Europeans of the Battalion (of whom.....were Topazes) about 80 of the Train & 1,200 Sepoys, besides.....Militia &Gentlemen volunteers form'd into an independent Company (10).

"On the 19th Novr. Col. Ford march'd to the Northward; with part of these & cross'd the Ganges above Barnagore, Capt. Knox being at Tanna's Fort & Channoc's Battery with the remainder, and a few of Omar Beg's Troops. Mr. Holwell was order'd to take charge of Fort William with the Militia, consisting of 250 Europeans besides some of the Portuguese inhabitants.

"Col. Ford cross'd over the River Ganges to Syrapore a Danish Factory with his Troops and four pieces of Field Artillery & marched towards Chandernagore.

"On the 22nd Novr. the Dutch landed about 700 Europeans. & 800 Buggoses. Capt. Knox and the Parties at the Batteries were immediately order'd to join Col. Ford which they did at midnight near Syrapore.

"On the 23rd Orders were sent to our Commodore, Captain Wilson, to demand immediate restitution of our ships, Subjects and property or to fight, sink, burn & destroy the Dutch ships on their refusal; the next day the demand was made and refused. True British spirit was manifested on this occasion, notwithstanding the inequality, the Dutch having seven to three (and four of them capital ships), we attacked them and after about two hours engagement the Dutch Commodore struck & the rest followed the example, except his Second who cut & ran down as low as *Culpee* when she was stopped short by the *Oxford* & *Royal George* which arrived two days before and had our orders to join the other Captains. The Dutch Comr. had about 30 men killed and as many wounded, she suffer'd the most amongst them, as did the *Duke of Dorset* on our side, who was more immediately engaged with her.

"On the same day, the 24th, Col. Ford march'd from the French Gardens to the Northward intending to encamp between Chandernagore & Chinsura. In his march thro' the former he was attack'd by the Dutch with four pieces of cannon & the Garrison from Chinsura which had march'd out & lodged themselves in the houses & ruins of Chandernagore at the very time the Colonel entered with his Troops at the Southernmost

(10) All these figures are left unfilled in the MS.

end (N. B.—Spears brought the alarm to Ghyratty). However he soon dislodged them from their Ambush, took their cannon & pursued them with some slaughter to the very barriers of Chinsura—then encamp'd on the Glacis of Chandernagore, and having certain intelligence in the night of the near approach of the Dutch Troops from the ships (11) who had been in spite of his vigilance join'd by part of the Garrison from Chinsura, he march'd at break of day about 7 o'clock (after causing the men to load and fix their bayonets on the parade) with two field pieces and (in less than half an hour) met them in full march for Chinsura, which was little more than two miles distant. We immediately filed to the fight & they to the left & form'd our lines within 70 yards of each other; in a very few minutes we were both form'd and came to action.

"The Dutch were commanded by Col. Roussel, a French soldier of fortune. They consisted of nearly 700 Europeans and as many Buggoses, besides country troops. Ours of 240 Infantry (.....of which Topazes), 80 of the Train and 50 more Europeans composing the Troop of Horse, independents & Volunteers, & about 800 Sepoys. The engagement was short, bloody, and decisive; the Dutch were put to a total Rout in less than half an hour. They had about 120 Europeans and 200 buggoses taken prisoner with Monsiur Roussel and 14 officers and about 100 Buggoses kill'd 350 Europeans & about 150 wounded; our loss inconsiderable. The Dutch were now as abject in their submissions as they had been insolent on their supposed superiority. They disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, & agreed to pay costs and damages, on which their ships were delivered up to them.

"Three days after the Battle of Bederra the young Nabob with about 6 or 7,000 horse arrived. Thus ended an affair which had the event been different threatened us in its consequences with utter destruction, for had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing Proofs to conclude the remembrance of Amboyna (12) would have been lost in their treatment of this Colony.

"Mr. Bisdom was in a dying condition during the whole transaction, and opposed jointly with Messrs. Quydland and Bacheracht the violence of their proceedings, but they were over ruled by the rest of their Council,

(11) "On the same evening Forde learned that the Dutch army would come up with him in the morning and wrote to Clive for instructions, being apprehensive of prosecuting hostilities against a nation with which England was at peace, and whose force was superior to his own. Clive, who had already taken his resolution and was prepared to assume responsibility for it, was playing whist when the letter reached him. He put down his cards and without leaving the table wrote on the back of the letter: 'Dear Forde.—Fight them immediately I will send you the order in Council to-morrow'. Then, collecting his cards again, he went on with the game". Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. II, p. 470. The Europeans with Forde were the precursors of the 1st Bengal Europeans who later became the 101st Foot and the 1st battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

(12) The reference is to the massacre of Amboyna in 1636, when a number of Englishmen and Japanese were cruelly tortured to death by the Dutch. It was not until thirty—one year later that Cromwell was able to exact an indemnity.

led by Messrs Vernet and Schivechaven, two men of desperate fortunes and violent and evil principles, who we doubt not pay severely for their impudence."

* * * * *

Swinton had by this time returned to military service and had been appointed an ensign in the Company's army. He must have been at Biderra, for a fragment of his journal has survived which commences on December 27, 1759, a month after the battle, and which shows that he was then with Forde and Knox at the beginning of their campaign against the Shahzada Shah Alam. On January 9, 1760 Major Caillaud (13) took over the command at "Ghysabad" above Cossimbazar and the army marched forward until February 14, when it "passed Baglypore" (Bhaugulpur) and received the news from Patna of Ram Narayan's victory over the Shahzada. On February 18 a halt was made at Barh, where another messenger from Patna reported that the Shahzada was encamped at "Raunah Seray". The camp was attacked on February 22, with complete success, the action lasting from "12 a.m. till 3" and 17 pieces of cannon were taken. Caillaud pursued his journey to Patna where he arrived on February 26.

The entries in the journal continue to give details of marches and counter-marches until July 29, 1760, when Swinton and the rest of the force find themselves once more at Patna. Major John Carnac (14) now assumed the command, Caillaud reverting to Madras. A gap follows until November 1760, and the journal is not resumed until the following November (1761). But there is an account by Swinton himself of the "battle of Gaiah" which was fought on January 15, 1761, and another by Lieut. Gilbert Ironside (15) in the form of a letter written on loose sheets of paper.

* * * * *

(13) Caillaud returned to England in 1767 and died in 1812. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*: "Deaths.—1812 December 27: At Aston-house—Oxon. in his 88th year General John Caillaud of the East India Service. An indulgent husband, sincere friend, and pious Christian. His loss will be severely felt by the poor in that neighbourhood for his benevolence."

(14) Carnac entered the Company's service in 1758 as a Captain from Adlercron's regiment (the 39th Foot) and accompanied Clive to England in 1767. He returned to India as member of Council at Bombay in 1776, but was dismissed the service in 1779 for his share in the convention of Wargaum and died at Mangalore on November 9, 1800, at the age of 84. There is a characteristic allusion to him by Clive in the Fort William consultations for January 29, 1786; "I perfectly well remember having said that it would not be amiss for General Carnac to have a man with a Goglet of water ready to pour on his head, whenever he should begin to grow warm in debate." Reynolds' portrait of his second wife, Eliza Rivett, is in the Tate Gallery.

(15) *Gilbert Ironside*—cadet 1758: Ensign December 14, 1758: Lieutenant September 19, 1759: Captain October 13, 1763: Major May 1, 1766: Lieutenant—Colonel April 2, 1768: Colonel September 12, 1774. He married Laetitia Roberts in Calcutta on May 13, 1765. Grand in his *Narrative* describes him as "the celebrated martinet". In a letter dated November 7, 1779, "camp at Dalmow", Brigadier Giles Stibbert reports that Major William Hessman has been killed in a duel by Colonel Gilbert Ironside. In 1764 Ironside raised at Calcutta the 14th Bengal Infantry which was known after him as the Ranseet-ki-pultan. He communicated to the Asiatic Annual Register in 1800 an account of the campaigns of 1760 and 1761.

ARCHIBALD SWINTON'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF GAIAH.

Major Carnac, as soon as he took command of the Army at Patna, marched in quest of the Shah Zadah, whose Army had wintered in the heart of the Baher province unmolested. He came up with him on the 15th of January 1761, and gained a complete victory without the least assistance from Cossim Ali Cawn, the new Nabob. On the contrary, his forces, astonished and discontented at the revolution, at first refused to march from Patna, but finding Major Carnac was determined to act against the Shah Zadah independently of them, they followed him reluctantly, but never were of the least utility to him in the Action, and he had more to dread from their treachery—they being in his rear—than from the enemy he was about to engage. The happy success attending this enterprize kept them to their duty, and was the means of establishing the tranquillity of the three provinces.

Mr. Law, with most of his party of Frenchmen, were taken prisoners, and the Shah Zadah was so closely pursued that he found himself reduced to the necessity either of abandoning his Army and quitting the Provinces with a few followers, or of trusting to the Major's generosity by putting himself in his power. He chose to risk the latter, and desired that a gentleman might be sent to inform him in what manner he would be treated. The Major was pleased to send me, and according to my instructions, I assured his Majesty that he might depend on being received and entertained with all possible deference and respect, and that the Major would consider his life and honour as his own. On these assurances he determined to submit to the Major, and taking a moderate but splendid retinue with him, ordered me to conduct him to the English camp. So extraordinary a sight as the Emperor of Hindostan (16), for he was even then universally considered as such, throwing himself upon the protection of an English Army with whom he had but a few days before engaged in the field, filled the breast of every one with such admiration and delight that I am persuaded there was not a private soldier or sepoy in our Army who would not have risked his life in his defence, and fought for him with more zeal and fidelity than his own troops.

Major Carnac, whose heart is all sensibility, received him in the kindest and most respectful manner, and could hardly refrain from tears. Nazars were presented to him by the General and other officers, and after a short visit he returned highly pleased to his own Army, which was but a few miles off.

Next day both Armies marched near each other, as was concerted, towards Patna.

(16) Gauhar Ali succeeded as nominal emperor under the title of Shah Alam the Second on the murder in 1759, of his father Alamgir the Second. He was blinded in 1788 by the Rohilla freebooter Ghulam Kadir, and died in 1806, at the age of 78. Throughout almost the whole of his reign he was a mere puppet of the Mahrattas. When Lake entered Delhi in 1803 he found him "seated in rags under a tattered canopy, the sole remnant of his former state and surrounded by every external token of misery".

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF GAIAH, (BEING A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT GILBERT IRONSIDE).

“ Sir,—

“ The last time I had the honour of addressing you was from this place, under date the 20th December, wherein I mentioned the respectful liberty I should take to trouble you with another letter if anything material occurred before the departure of the latter ships.

“ This short interval has produced indeed a series of events the most fortunate that could happen for the affairs of India, the two principal points in view, the possession of Pondicherry, and the reduction of the Shahzadah being happily accomplished.

“ Our Army in Bengal, from many obstacles on the part of the Nabob's troops, were prevented taking the fields until the beginning of the year, for it was a long time before Major Carnac could prevail on so many unpaid, and for that reason dissatisfied people, to remove themselves from Patna and follow him, and to leave them there was to abandon the city to that danger which threatened from their known disaffection.

“ However the day at length arrived when we met the enemy, who appeared on the 15th of January on the banks of the Swan [Sone], a river about 10 coss W. of Bahar. Under cover of the cannon we immediately crossed, and without any opposition, for the enemy, retired to the distant shelter of some banks and ditches, left a free passage, and thus lost the fairest occasion they could meet with to take us at a disadvantage while our troops were divided by the water. When the guns' ammunition had passed the river, we hastened to drive them from their intrenchment. On our approach they instantly abandoned it and retreated to another, equally tenable with the former, had they been resolute to defend it, but this too they quitted, as we advanced, were dispossessed also from a third, before they made a stand and drew up some order upon a large plain. We still kept moving towards them, cannonading as we marched, and expected the moment their horse could begin the charge, but a lucky ball from a twelve-pounder killing the driver of the elephant on which the Shahzadah was mounted (17), the beast, deprived of his guide, turned about and carried his rider and consequently all his followers with him into the rear. This very much disconcerted them, and the artillery being served very briskly just at that time, they could stand no longer. They all followed their leader and fled in great disorder.

(17) There was found among the belongings of the Shahzadah upon the driverless elephant his Majesty's writing-desk or “ Kalamdan.” It is an oblong box on a stand or small tray, lacquered, with a gold ground ornamented with the flower called “ Hazargula,” [more properly *Gul-i-hazara*, double poppy] and contains silver ink-holders, steel penknives with handles of the bone of lion fish, and carved ivory implements and Persian letters gold dusted, etc. The “ lucky ball ” from the twelve-pounder was fired by Captain Bradbridge, and when it killed the Royal Elephant's driver, his Majesty was forced to dismount, and the desk was taken. Archibald Swinton preserved it, and brought it home with him, and it is now at Kimmerghame. [Note by Mr. J. L. C. Swinton].

"The pursuit continued near three miles, when it being observed that the French brought up their rear, Major Carnac determined to make an effort at them, that at least they might not escape with the rest. The guns were therefore left behind, and two battalions of Seapoys with the Europeans made a push at Mr. Law. They played 6 pieces of small artillery as we advanced, but being levelled too high the balls passed over us. Our soldiers much to their credit passed their guns with shouldered..... The French troops broke and ran away before our Musquetry could reach them, not a shot was fired on our side nor did we lose a single man. Mr. Law with several of his officers and 50 men were then taken (18) and best part of the remainder have surrendered since. The same night the Shahzadah fled beyond Bahar. Having few horse of our own, and the Nabob's as well absolutely refusing to pursue, the Victory was not so decisive as it might have been had the troops done their duty. The Prince easily recollected his scattered forces the next day, but no more respite was given him than was absolutely requisite for the relief of our own people. The Major pressed close upon him the morning after the battle, and a few marches reduced his army (retreating through a country they had before laid waste) to the utmost distress for subsistence [sic].

"On the 29th the Prince sent an embassy to know the proposals which would be accepted. The terms insisted on were the instant dismissal of Comda Khan, and confiding for the rest that he would rely upon the honour and good faith of the English nation. During their negotiation our marches were rather quickened than delayed, and this accelerated their resolutions, for the Prince seeing no hopes of protracting the time, complied in a few days with the terms stipulated. Fhousdar Khan was sent away, and the Shahzadah on the 7th of Feby. joined the English camp. On the 10th the Major marched with him towards Patna, where we arrived the and this day the Prince is safely lodged in the Palace of Patna, an event which has terminated the war in these parts. His maintenance is fixed at one thousand Rupees a day defrayed by the Nabob.

"The Fhousdar of Beerboon refusing to acknowledge the present Nabob, Major Yorke marched with a detachment against him, drove him [from] his capital into the hills, and appointed another to govern this district in his stead.

"Captain White being sent with a body of 80 Europeans, 2 guns, and 300 Seapoys to quell some disturbances in Berdaowan [Burdwan], was fallen upon by the Rajah of that place, whom he defeated, and entered the town. He was afterwards ordered to join Major Yorke at Beerboon, but when he approached he found his communication with the Major's party cut off by 8 or 10,000 Marrattas. He fought them, repulsed their repeated

(18) Jean Law of Lauriston was the nephew of Law of Mississippi Company fame, and was chief of the French factory at Saidabad, when Suraj-ud-daula captured the British residency at Cossimbazar in 1756. He withdrew to Patna in April 1757 and after Plassey joined the Shahzada. Carnac sent him to Calcutta and he left India in 1762. For an account of his Odyssey up-country, see Mr. S. C. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*.

attacks, destroyed a great number of them, and at last took possession of a post which he maintained for a long time, but in the end would have been worsted for want of ammunition when Major Yorke, who was luckily near enough to hear the firing, made a forced march to his relief, upon which the Marrattas dispersed and fled the province. These strokes have entirely cleared the countries belonging to the Company of all their enemies, and there seems from our late success and present strength to be a fair prospect of a long and settled peace.

"A violent storm blew lately off Madrass. Two Men-of-War of the line foundered in it. Most of the men as is reported lost. Two ran ashore, one since got off, five were dismasted otherwise damaged, but are again partly refitted, and only wait for some masts to get off, the Men-of-War lately arrived from England to be completely so (19).

"Pondickering (20) fell the 16th of January, yielded at discretion for want of provisions. Colonel Coote would not grant them no other terms than the whole garrison surrendering prisoners of war. He took possession the same day of the Niller gate (21) and the day following that of the Citadel.

"Colonel Coote is expected in Bengal with his regiment by the latter end of next month. We shall then have a very considerable force here, either to defend the country or to support the title of the Shahzadah as was lately thought of to the...

"It is a very sensible satisfaction to the people on this side the world that they have not themselves ... while their country were so well employed in Europe, and that everything has been done which was left to do.

"The Mauritius and the island will we hope be the conquest of the Fleet.

"Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on these many and signal success of the British arms, and once more to subscribe myself

"Your very obliged

"And obedient Servant

GILBERT IRONSIDE.

In the spring of 1763 Swinton was placed in command of an expedition to Meckley which he describes as "a hilly country, bounded on the north south and west by large tracts of Cookie Mountains and on the East by

(19) Coote writes to Fort Saint George on January 3, 1761: "Three ships have foundered: four large ships are entirely dismasted." Admiral Stevens in his flagship stood out early to sea: he was joined by Admiral Cornish with his division: and "we had by the 15th eleven sail of the line".

(20) *Sic*. Pondicherry is intended. Lally retreated thither after the battle of Wandiwash. The siege began in May 1760. General Sir O'Moore Creagh in his *Autobiography* (p. 3) mentions that no less than five Creaghs were among the "French" prisoners.

(21) Unintelligible as it stands. But there is a map of 1760 in Col. Wylly's *Life of Sir Eyre Coote* which shows the gates of the town, and two of these are the Villenour and Valdour gates. "Niller" is obviously an error in transcription for "Villenour" or "Villenore".

the Burampoota, beyond the hills to the north by Assam, to the west Cashai (22) to the south and East Burmah." Meckley was then part of the kingdom of Ava, and Swinton tells us that "there is no intercourse between Meckley and China, if they want to send a letter they cross the Burrampoota, put the letter in a bamboo which they hang to the end of another bamboo, and stick it in the ground on the Burmah side." The expedition was the outcome of a letter dated September 19, 1762, from Harry Verelst, chief at Chittagong to Henry Vansittart Governor of Fort William which was considered by the Board on October 4 (23). The Board decided that the opportunity was a favourable one for contracting an alliance with the Meckley Rajah, and resolved to "detach six companies of Sepoys, four from hence (Calcutta) and two to be draughted from Capt. Grant's Battalion at Chittagong under the Command of Lieutenant Archibald Swinton, with two other officers, Lieutenant John Stables (24) and Ensign Scotland, to fix a post at Moneypoor and make themselves acquainted with the strength and disposition of the Burmahs and the situation of their country". Mention is made by Swinton of 100 Frenchmen and 30 Englishmen who were kept prisoners by the Burmans and compelled to fight for them: but the Board's orders were precise that the mission was "on no account to commence hostilities against the Burmahs". Verelst from Chittagong was authorized to accompany the troops.

Swinton himself set out on May 21, 1763, but seems to have gone no further than Sylhet, for he notes in his journal that on June 29, he "set out from Silett about nine". He had learned of the new troubles which had broken out in Bengal, owing to the disputes which had arisen between the Company and Mir Kasim whom they had placed upon the musnud at Moorshedabad: and, as the Council afterwards wrote in a general letter, "on being ordered to return to Dacca he contributed greatly by his activity and bravery to recovering the Factory and reduction of the City (25). From thence he made the greatest expedition to join the Army".

(22) Cashay or Cassay—a name given to Manipur: Burmese Kase (pronounced Kathe). Cf. Major Michael Symes' "Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795": "All the troopers in the King's service are native of Cassey who are much better horsemen than the Burmans". Meckley—is another name applied to Manipur. But from the boundaries given Swinton seems to be referring to the modern Sylhet and Cachar.

(23) See Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali's "Notes on the Early History of Manipur" (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 to 139; I. H. R. C. progs. Vol. V, pp. 119-27) in which details are given of the political situation in Manipur at the time.

(24) Afterwards in the Civil Service and Member of Council at Fort William from November 1782 to November 1787.

(25) Cf. the "Short sketch of the Troubles in Bengal to ye 28 July, 1763" in the Powis MSS. quoted by Forrest in his *Life of Clive* (Vol. II, p. 238): "Dacca Factory was attacked, but there being a Considerable Number of Seapoys it was defended: however on the Enemy's retiring the Gentlemen finding their Ammunition run short and apprehending a second attack, thought it best to retire to Luckypore when being joined by Captain Grant from Chittagong and Lieutenant Swinton with a Detachment from the Eastward they returned to Dacca and retook the Factory and took possession of the city and districts but both city and Factory had been plundered".

He left Dacca on August 4, 1763, and was rowed usually from 4 a.m. till 6 p.m. every day until the 17th, when he landed and immediately marched, reaching the Army on the 19th. It was under the command of Major Thomas Adams who had been ordered to proceed to Moorshedabad upon the receipt in Calcutta of the news of the murder of Peter Amyatt on the river off Cossimbazar. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to interrupt his march but he had taken possession of the city and also of the factory at Cossimbazar, which had been plundered, and had proclaimed Meer Jaffier once more as Nawab. On July 28 he had set out from Moorshedabad. After an action at Sooti, about half way between that place and Rajmehal, he had reached Udwanala, about five miles to the south of Rajmehal, on August 11 and was surrounding the enemy who had intrenched themselves there.

The Enemy had strongly fortified this post. It was protected on one side by the Mountains and on the other side by the Ganges, and they had thrown up a great work and mounted a hundred pieces of cannon, having in front a deep ditch 54 feet wide, and full of water in every part. The breadth of ground which the English had for carrying on their approaches did not exceed 200 yards, and lay between the swamp and the river, they therefore laid siege instead of attacking, from the 21st of August till the 4th of September 1763, when the commander, tired of this slow procedure, resolved to attack on the side of the Mountains. He sent Major Towin with a chosen body of Europeans and Sepoys and carried the entrenchments, when incredible slaughter and confusion ensued, and the rout of the Indians was total.

Colonel Malleeson has described this forgotten battle as "one of the most glorious, one of the most daring and most successful feats of arms ever achieved". The force opposed to the English was directed by Meer Kasim himself, and consisted of 40,000 to 60,000 men, of whom 12,000 were horsemen. Adams' little army was composed of above 400 men of His Majesty's 84th Regiment, 350 men of the Bengal European Regiment (including the French Company) 150 European Cavalry, 120 European artillery men and about 4,000 sepoys. No less than 100 guns were mounted on the breastworks, and among Meer Kasim's generals were the renegade Reinhardt (otherwise known as Somebre) and the Armenians Markar and Arratoon. Had it not been for Adams, the siege would have been abandoned in despair (26).

Monghyr next surrendered to the English after nine days' siege in open trenches, during which Swinton was severely wounded in the left arm. Mir Kasim retreated to Patna, taking a number of English prisoners with him. William Ellis, the chief of Patna, was hot tempered and indiscreet,

(26) The Burial Registers preserved at St. John's Church, Calcutta, show that Major Thomas Adams was buried on January 12, 1764. There is no monument to his memory and no trace of his grave can be found. No mention is made in Dr. Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* either of Adams or of his victory at Udwanala.

and had brought matters to a crisis by attempting to seize the City. The attack which was made on the morning of June 25, was successful: but as the result of a counter-attack, the English were obliged to return to the Factory, whence they retreated across the river. They marched as far as Chapra but were compelled to retrace their steps, and were taken prisoners. Swinton has preserved three accounts of the events which followed, and which culminated in the massacres of October 6 and 11, 1763. The narratives of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Fullerton have been reproduced in "The Diaries of the Three Surgeons of Patna", published by the Calcutta Historical Society in 1909 (27). The third relates the story of the attack on the city on June 25, and the evacuation and subsequent wanderings and return to Patna. It is written by Ensign Hugh M'Kay who was later on among the victims of Sumroo.

Upon hearing the news, Major Adams marched with the main body of his army without delay from Monghyr to Patna. The Enemy made sallies with vigour and spirit and blew up a principal magazine, but the English cannons destroyed the defences and silenced the guns. A breach was made and the city was taken on November 6, 1763, after eight days' siege. Swinton who was in the advanced post, was so severely wounded as to necessitate the loss of his right arm. His brother, Lord Swinton, preserved a copy of the following extract from a letter written by John Johnstone from Fort William to his brother, George Johnstone (28) in London.

It is with particular pleasure I can inform you of the high dessert and exploits of Captains Irving and Swinton; none stands higher in the lists of fame or in the good opinion and regard of all that know them.

"Next to those who are dead, we cannot enough mourn for the hard lot of worthy Swinton who was wounded in the left hand at the Siege of Mongheer, and in the right of that of Patna, in a

(27) Dr. Anderson's diary was also printed by Mr. Henry Beveridge in the *Calcutta Review* of October 1884. It is among the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum.

(28) George Johnstone (1730-1787) was the fourth son of Sir James Johnstone, Bart. of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire. He entered the Navy and in 1765 was appointed Governor of West Florida: hence his appellation of "Governor Johnstone." In 1767 he returned to England and entered the House of Commons in 1768 as member for Cockermouth. He was given command in 1781 of a squadron to operate in the East Indies against the Bailli de Suffren. In January 1784 he was elected a Director of the East India Company in succession to Sir Henry Fletcher, and held office until April 1786, having previously been an influential member of the Court of Proprietors and a strong opponent of Clive. In the same year (1784) he became M.P. for Ilchester. Two of his brothers were in the Company's Service in Bengal. Patrick Johnstone came out in 1754 and perished in the Black Hole. John Johnstone arrived in 1751 and was made prisoner at Dacca during the "troubles". He fought at Plassey and in the Northern Circars under Forde: and was sent in 1765 to Moorshedabad at the head of a commission to instal Nujm-ud-daula as Nawab Nazim, when he received a "present" of Rs. 2,37,000. Governor's Johnstone's son George arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1780 and in 1787 was appointed to be first assistant to the Resident at Lucknow. He figures as "Mr. Johnson" in Zoffany's picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match". Resigning in 1797, he became M.P. for Hedon in Yorkshire in 1802. See "The Story of James Paull" in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 72 Seqq.

sally. It has been obliged to be cut off since above the elbow, and his life saved with much difficulty. He thinks to return to England this season.

After the fall of Patna, Meer Kasim took refuge with the Nawab of Oudh, who received him but declined to admit his army. The British forces were encamped on the frontier: and were soon occupied with troubles of their own. Among Swinton's papers is the following

" ACCOUNT OF THE DESERTION OF THE EUROPEANS BELONG-
ING TO THE HONOURABLE UNITED COMPANY IN
BENGAL, FEBRUARY 12TH 1764.

The Army lay at Sant (29) under the command of Capt. Jennings before mentioned, a considerable time without anything remarkable only exersizing the Great Guns and small arms, and sending letters backwards and forwards to the King of Dillee, and Shuja Dowlah, until the 9th day of February, in the Morning, when the Battalion being ordered out to exersize, & the Adjutant, Mr. James Forster, come upon the Parade, he gave the Word of Command—" Rest your firelocks," but not a man made any motion; upon which he gave the word again, but not a man would stir. He then ordered them to the " Right about," but they would not do that neither upon which he asked them their Grevance, but not a man spoake; whereupon Capt. Forster sent to Capt. Jennings, who came, and after a great many promises that if any one would turn out and tell their Grevance, that he should not be hurt, one of them stept out, and on being asked, he told them that the Prize money was Promised to be paid to them sevl times but never was, and that they heard that Major Carnac had stopped payment in Calcutta. Whereupon Captns. Jennings & Forster told them that it would be pd in a few Days, and that concerning Major Carnac was all false, they then went to the Right about, lodged their Arms and went to their Tents, and all was very quiet, till the 11th, then about 8 o'clock the camp was alarmed by the Drums beating of the General, and all the Men Turning out in a confused order, the Troopers began to Saddle their horses, but Lt. Geo. Bolton Eyres, who commanded the horse then in Camp, Draw'd his sword upon one Symmons, Camp Colour man, upon which they Run to the Bell Tent, took up their Arms and Joined the Battalion on foot. Captn. Jennings thought to suppress the Mutiny by seessing the Ring Leader and confining him, but here he was Mistaken for 8 or 10 fixed their Bayonets, and if he had not run for it would certainly have took his life. They then proceeded to Appoint Officers, such as One Collenol and Two Majors, and one Jack Straw, a Desperate sort of a fellow, was made Adjutant, and sent a party of men to the Right to Secure the Park, & all the Lascars & Bollocks that they could find, and likewise one to the left, for the same Purpose, and a Party was sent along with the Troopers to gett their horses, whilse a party went with Captn. Stables to the Nabob, with one

(29). Sawath, on the banks of the river Durgauti, on the Grand Trunk Road between Sasaram and Moghal Sarai.

who could speak the tongue, who told them that he would give them a lack of Rupees Directly, and one more in two hours time, and likewise a Bill upon Patna for two lack more. In the mean-time all the officers was collecting all the Money they could, and brought it, and laid it before them on the Parade, But all this would not satisfy them, for they insisted upon the Immediate Paiment of 500 Rs. each Man, By this time the Troopers joined them, with the aforesaid Mr. Symmons, and the Black Cavalry and Mr. Symmons took command of the whole Cavalry, and the two other Partys also joined them, then they faced to the Right and Marched off with 5 guns towards the Nabob, whose tent they surrounded, and pointed a Gun at it. But recollecting, they faced again and Marched for the Carramnassa, (the Granadiers who in the first Mutiny where [sic] sent to join the Advanced party of Seapoys who lay at the Carramnassa, were upon the Braking out of the Mutiny a-fresh, sent for and returned a different road to what the Battalion went, which was the reason of their missing them) giving out that they were going to fetch the Granadiers, but when they came to a Crick which lay in their way, they left the Guns for want of Bullocks, which were presently brought back, they then proceeded on to the Carramnassa, and the Officers followed beging of them to return, which several of the English Did, beginning to find out the Design of the Foreigners (30). The Foreigners proceeding on their March to the Carramnassa where most of the Seapoys that was there, join'd and went with them a-cross the Carramnassa River, and proceeded for Benares, by this Time Most of them Returned, as likewise the Seapoys, but the Frenchmen still march'd on till about 12 o'clock at night, when they halted and appointed Mr. De-Le-Mar (formerly sargant of the French Company in his Majesty's 84th Regt.) Commander in Chief. Then they sett forward again and arrived at Benares. Capt. Jennings & the Nabob sent Harcarars, to the Raja of Banaras to stop the Deserters, which he said he would, but on the Contrary supplied them with a thousand Rupees, and Boats to cross them over the River, which they Did and joined Cossum Alley Cawn & Somro and Collenol De le mar sent a letter to Capt. Jennings, in which he said that they had always behaved like good soldiers, all the Campaign, they had been used ill, and was always put upon, and that they had this Design in hand a great wile before, but could never find an opportunity till this June of getting away, and that as they was frenchmen we should always find them as good frenchmen still.

A list of the Europeans who Desserted, 12th February 1764, from the European Battalion:—

Non. Com. and Private	...	...	154
From the First Troop of European Cavalry	...	...	9
From the Second Troop of European Cavalry	...	...	7

Total Europeans 170

(30) One of the four French Companies, which was commanded by Claud Martin, stood firm. There were also some Dutchmen and Germans.

From the different Battalions of Seapoys with Europe Arms, two hundred, and with much difficulty were cept ~~from~~ firing; had one firelock gone off by accident or other wise it would certainly been the destruction of the whole Army and the loss of almost, if not quite all, the Europeans & the total loss of Bengall, but God who foresees all things ordered it other wise".

* * * * *

Accompanying this account is the following letter from " James Logan to James Campbell ".

Feb. 13, 1764.

Dear Jamie,

Pray why so long silent, do you return or do you go home? What are you doing or what are you about to do? It would be kind but to let us know ... you wrong me if you think your concerns of such moment are indifferent to me. I assure you I think myself interested in them, and I imagine your sentiments with regard to mine are the same.

Here is the Devil to pay, and no Pitch Hot about the Bill money, the day before yesterday almost the whole Europeans took up arms and demanded the payment of the Prise money immediately, they appointed a Colonell and 2 Majors to command them, the former of whom with a body guard to attend him, went with Capt. Stables to the Nabob who proposed sending immediately to Patna for 2 lack of rupees to give them, but they would not wait nor would they accept of 30,000 Rupees which the officers collected and offered them upon the Parade, but since they would not have their prise money said they would go join Cassim Ali-con, accordingly they seized 5 pieces of cannon, mounted all the troop horses & marched off in regular order. Part of the Mogul Horse brought up their rear and forced along many Europeans who were unwilling to go, they soon left the guns and marched on with them in good order towards the Caremnassa which they crossed and encamped 3 coss beyond it that night, the greatest part of Stibbert's Battalion of Seapoys which was at the Caremnassa joined them and crossed it with them, but they almost all returned as well as the Europeans who are all come back except about 200 who were almost all Foreigners that are gone for good. Serjeant Delamare, late of the Regiment, is their commander in Chief. All the Europeans now in Camp have received 40 Rs. a man, and are contented, but to-day Swinton's, Smith's and Gaillases Battalions took up arms and were going to follow the Deserters but I hear they've all returned, but on what terms I don't yet know, being her[e] a coss from Camp with the Hospital, which I have had the care of for this month past.

Now the above is all the news (& a damned deal too I think) pray let me have but half as much from you in return.

I have not yet received the money of Captain Nolleking, pray deliver the enclosed Belt to Godard and receive the money if he intends to pay

it, he has used me damned [ill?] already in not paying it. I wrote him since he has been in Calcutta about it, he has not deigned me an answer. Pray write me soon, and

Believe me to be,

Dear Campbell,

Mahuneah [Maner],

Feby. 13th, 1764.

Yours sincerely,

JAS. LOGAN.

* * * * *

This mutiny was soon followed by another. When the "prize money" (which had been given by Mir Jaffir) did arrive it was distributed by Captain Jennings in such a manner that the Europeans received six times as much as the sepoys. These promptly mutinied in their turn, and further concessions were necessary in order to appease them (31).

Major Carnac arrived to take command in March 1764. The Army was short of provisions, and the troops still discontented about their pay. Carnac retreated to Patna and camped under the walls of the city. Colonel (after General) Richard Smith now takes up the story in a letter to Orme, of which Swinton appears to have obtained a copy (32):

* * * * *

The Vizier crossed the Carumnassa with the most formidable army that any Nabob has commanded for many years [and]...surrounded Patna & our intrenchments. Armed Boats on the Ganges saved our Army from famine. It was very much apprehended that Sujah Dowlah would detach a considerable Corps from before Patna to possess even Muxadavad—but fortunately for us the retreat of our Army had elated him beyond measure. On the 3rd May 1764 he made a general attack upon all our intrenchments. Carnac wisely stood upon the defensive, and the Moors were at every post repulsed with loss. (But remark the effect of Party rage. Carnac was blamed at Calcutta for not following the Blow, by marching directly to attack the enemy, although his Troops had been under arms Twenty six hours, & engaged almost half the time with the Enemy). The Vizier remained some days longer in the vicinity of Patna & the rainy season approaching, he crossed the Carumnassa and wintered in his own Dominions. Major Carnac in the ensuing Month having had notice of his Dismission from the Service, before the public advices arrived, quitted the command of he army, and a detachment of Highlanders, being arrived from Bombay commanded by

(31) In a letter addressed to Lord Clive on September 9, 1765, by Ralph Leycester, James Graham and George Vansittart, "Agents for the Squadron" (Pub. Dept. Progs. Sept. 9, 1765) a reference will be found to the grant by Meer Jaffir of a donation of Rs. 1,25,000 to the squadron for their services in the war against Meer Cossim. This was the "Navy donation." Complaint is made that "not a single rupee has been received."

(32) Swinton met General Richard Smith at Buxton in September 1792 and writes to his son John that "He and I are acquaintances of forty years standing, having arrived in India, I believe, in the same week".

Major Munro of the 89th regiment; these were sent to reinforce our Army, & before the Season for Action Major Munro arrived at Patna in the character of Commander in Chief (33). When the rainy season was past we took the field, & crossed the Sohn. In October the Vizier's army was assembled and marched towards us. Towards the end of the month (34) we fought the battle of Buxar, and gained a very complete Victory. In very few days after this our Army took possession of Benares. Sir Robert Fletcher arrived in Camp second in Command. The season approached when His Majesty's troops must either remain another year or proceed to Calcutta for embarkation. The Shahzada or more properly the King came, once more, under our protection. Some overtures were made by Sumroo, & the Corps of Frenchmen as Preliminaries; either he had too much Honour, or he did not suppose his Situation quite desperate. We were too much elated by success to recede. The *Success* Transport arrived with advice of the change of the Administration of Indian affairs, in Europe. The Packet not being addressed to Vansittart, he declined opening it until he was prevailed on by his Council, & would have quitted his Government but for their Solicitations. The Brigadier's Commission for Carnac hastened Major Munro's return. He left the Command of the Army to Sir Robert Fletcher, who you know is naturally of a military turn & fond of Exploits. He did not totally approve of our inactivity after the Battle of Buxar, he was therefore determined to make the best use of his interval of Command, and marched towards Ilhiabad (35) the Capital. Chinargur, a fort of importance, after two unsuccessful attacks on our part was abandoned by the enemy [Feb. 11, 1765] Sujah Dowlah attended the Army with a Body of six or seven thousand Horse skirmishing often, but never venturing near enough to engage. We took possession of the Capital without any material loss; after a very short siege it capitulated. In January [1765] General Carnac posted to Camp to command the Army once more; in the same Month Mr. Vansittart sailed for Europe, leaving Spenser in the Government. In February Jaffier Allee Cawn died; his eldest natural Son he very earnestly recommended to be his Successor. The *Lapwing* was arrived from Europe with certain intelligence of Lord Clive's coming out, and had moreover brought out the Covenants regarding Present—more of this hereafter. Sujah Dowlah driven from his Capital endeavoured to form an Alliance, that might reinstate him in his Dominions, & Mulhar Row (36) a Morattoo General, commanding some thousand Horse, he took into his pay, & endeavoured to prevail on the Rohella Chiefs to join him, but without any great effect, tho' he had a very considerable Corps of Pitans, called by us Durunnies. Thus he collected a very numerous Corps of Troops, but by no means equal to the preceding Campaign, for having lost his Field

(33) A third mutiny took place at Manjhi (on the Gogra, west of Chapra) when Munro was ordered to take over command from Carnac. Munro arrived on August 13, 1764 at Chapra and blew 24 of the ringleaders from the guns.

(34) October 23, 1764.

(35) Allahabad.

(36) Malhar Rao Holkar: died 1766 at Alampore.

Artillery in the Action at Buxar he could not repair that misfortune. The General had sent detachments, who took possession of the Cities of Owd & Lucknow, & settled those Provinces, and when he heard that the Vizier had collected something like an Army & intended once more to try his fortune, he marched from Ilhiabad fifty or sixty Coss to meet him—The Morattoes had entered the Provinces by the side of Korah; the General crossed the Ganges to meet them, & on the 3rd May came up with them, they made but an indifferent stand. After this Skirmish Sujah Dowlah separated from them, & the General kept pursuing the Morattoes until he drove them quite over the Jumna, and obliged them to abandon the fort of Calpee, (37) which they possessed on the opposite side within fifty Coss of Agra.

The Vizier's attempt to recover his Dominions was very feeble indeed, and he now was convinced of the impracticability of it. From Military operations he could have no hopes of success. He had seen the very honourable reception we had twice given to his Royal Master, and was determined to try what a Reception he should receive by placing an unlimited confidence in our Honour. He accordingly wrote a letter to the General, and the very next day came into our camp, where he was received with all possible marks of distinction.

He remained with the General till Lord Clive arrived in these parts. On the 31st July, Sujah Dowlah, the General, and myself met his Lordship at Chunderonty, a fort situated on the Ganges, five coss below Benares. From Benares they proceeded to Ilhiabad, to settle all matters with the King and afterwards with Sujah Dowlah.

Swinton was with Carnac, who had written as follows to Spencer, the President at Fort William, on January 26, 1765:

I purpose appointing Captain Swinton my Persian interpreter provisionally, till the Board's pleasure is known, and I request you will procure me the confirmation of that appointment. I will boldly pronounce there is no person at present in Bengal so capable of that Employ, he being as well as any, in the country language, and superior to all, in the knowledge of the manners of the Natives, and how we are to conduct ourselves towards them, for which he is peculiarly qualified, by the mildness and calmness of his temper, besides as we must have much intercourse with the King, he is fittest of anybody to be about him, His Majesty being so much pleased with his behaviour formerly, as to conceive an extreme liking to, and to have an entire confidence in him.

(37) 22nd May. General Carnac thus describes the attack at Calpee in a letter to the Council "In the dead of night, marched up 3 battalions of Sepoys with 2 guns, but our boats being so few (only two) and small not more than half (about 1,100) the Sepoys, with the two guns, could be got over before day appeared. This much was done, however, without the Enemy having the least notice of it, and these Sepoys were so well conducted by Major Jennings, with the assistance of Captain Swinton, as to clear the opposite shore entirely of the enemy, whom I judge to have been from 8 to 10,000".

An incomplete manuscript contains Swinton's notes upon the event of the next few weeks:—

* * * * *

Negotiations detained the General some days. He arrived with the King at Allahabad on the 25th [February]. Here he received letters from Binny Bahador (38) Prime Minister to Sujah Dowlah, who rented most part of the Provinces of Oude and Lucknow, offering to submit on certain terms, and bring over great part of Sujah Dowlah's forces, who had at this time left his own country and was gone towards Delhy in order to endeavour to engage some of the other Powers of the Empire into a confederacy in his favour.

The General sent Binny Bahader letters of safe conduct, and assurances of free leave to depart in case they could not come to an agreement, in consequence of which he came in on the 19th March [1765] with a body of about 10,000 men.

21st March.—The General had some days before sent Major Stibbert with the greatest part of the Army towards Oude, the Capital of one of the Provinces about the centre of Sujah Dowlah's dominions, and himself waited B. B's arrival at Allahabad. After his arrival he left the King with part of the Army under the command of Sir R. Fletcher, after concerting with His Majesty in what manner the country ought to be settled, and taking Mongral Dowlah and Shitabroy with him on the part of the King to manage the collections, in case [of] not agreeing with Binny Bahader. He followed the Army with a small escort, taking Rajah B. B. and his troops along with him. B. B's proposals appeared eligible to the King's ministers and to the General, but as he had been in such high favour with Sujah Dowlah, and commanded his Armies against us, the General thought it reasonable we should have some security of his future fidelity, and therefore insisted he should place his Family, which were then at Lucknow, somewhere under our protection and power, either at Patna or Benares. He at last seemed to agree to this, and took leave of the General on the 25th March, under pretence of bringing his Family from Lucknow, leaving almost all this troops behind him. But the fact was, he had private intelligence that Sujah Dowlah having engaged Rae Mulhar to join him, had laid aside his design of going on to Delhi, and purposed to make another effort to recover his Dominion, of which the General didn't receive intelligence till two days after at Oude, when immediately doubting B. B's steadiness, he sent me after him to Lucknow with a party of Mogul Horse and Sepoys.

I marched all night and next day, reached Derriabad about 40 miles from Oude; meeting with opposition here, we attacked and took this Fort.

(38) Rajah Balwant Singh Beni Bahadur who was appointed Naib of Ranipur by Shuja-ud-daulah in 1762. In the year following he commanded four or five thousand of Shuja-ud-Daulah's troops when the Emperor and Shuja-ud-daulah were at Benares planning to invade Behar. Raja Beni Bahadur crossed the Ganges but subsequently thought it prudent not to proceed against the English and went back. When the Emperor and Shuja-ud-Daulah suffered defeat Beni Bahadur conducted negotiations between them and the English.

In proceeding on to Lucknow, which place we reached on the 31st early in the morning, and found that Binny Bahadur.....

* * * * *

The rest is lost. But General Carnac wrote on May 27: "Hearing that Sujah Dowlah was drawing near, I sent Captain Swinton with Rajah Shitabroy to meet him. He arrived in the evening, on the opposite side of the river, and immediately crost it with his Brother-in-law, Salar Jung (sic) and a very few followers, in order to wait upon me. I received him with all possible marks of distinction, at which he expressed much satisfaction".

That the Vizier entertained a high regard for Swinton is evidenced by the fact that he presented him with his own sword, which is preserved at Kimmerghame. It bears this inscription:—"To Archibald Swinton Rustom Jung Bahadur Captain in the East India Company's Service from Sujah Dowlah Nabob of Oude and Vizier of the Empire of Hindostan".

After the signature of the Treaty of Allahabad in August 1765, Swinton was sent to Dacca to take over the *dewani* from the then Naib Nazim, Jusserat Khan: and the memory of "Sooltin Sahib's" visit still survives (39) This was his last piece of work in India. He retired from the Company's service in October 1765: and sailed for Europe in circumstances which he thus relates:

In the end of the year, 1765, the Emperour Shah Alum requested the English Army to conduct him to Delhi, and assist in placing him on the Throne of his Fathers, but as Lord Clive could not promise him that, he resolved with Ld. Clive's approbation to send a letter to the king of Great Britain to solicit his assistance.

"As I was about to return to Europe, and was well known to the King of Hindostan, the Vizier Monyr al Dowlah requested me to be the bearer of it. This I mentioned to Lord Clive, who readily consented, accordingly on the—[blank]—of Dec. 1765, the letter was delivered to Lord Clive, and the same time put into my hand by his Lordship...He also requested me to carry a munshy to Europe with me in case it should be thought proper to send an answer in the Persian language.

Having obtained Lord Clive's consent, I engaged the Munshy to go to Europe, Monyr al Dowlah, however, insisted on paying 2,000 R. (£250) towards his charges.

Swinton appears not to have quitted India before the middle of January, 1766: for on January 19, he recorded a statement, at the request of Carnac, relative to certain intrigues carried on with Mir Jafar by Nuncomar. He took with him not only the munshi, but also "several large Indian Jars, Indian and Chinese pictures painted on glass, a variety of

(39) Notes on the Antiquities of Dacca by Sayyid Aulad Hasan (Dacca, 1904), quoting from Rahman Ali's *Tarikh-i-Dhaka* MS., p. 81. From 1768 Jusserat Khan administered the province in conjunction with a member of Council representing the Company. On the death of the Nawab the Company assumed sole charge and his five successors held the nominal title of Naib Nazim with a monthly pension of Rs. 6,000.

ivory, silver, and crystal handled arms, jewels and Persian books". The ship rounded the Cape as usual, and proceeded to Nantes, where Swinton landed and remained for sixteen days. He then set out, post, in a carriage for England, leaving the munshi and the baggage to go by sea to Calais, and thence to Dover.

After spending three months in London, Swinton went to Oxford, where he and the Munshy assisted Sir William Jones (who had just been elected to a fellowship at University College) with his Indian and Persian manuscripts. Thence they made their way to Scotland and "alighted at the house of Captain Swinton's father in Edinburgh."

The fame of Swinton accompanied him, for he received the freedom of the city of Glasgow, the burgh of Fortrose, and the Town of Inverness. In 1769 he purchased the estate of Manderston, and added Kimmerghame to it in 1771. He married Henrietta Campbell, daughter of James Campbell of Blythswood, on October 17, 1776. They had six children, three sons and three daughters. John (born 1777) the eldest entered the Army and served in 1799 with the Allies in Holland against the French. James (born 1785) the fifth child obtained a cadetship in the Company's service on the Madras establishment and sailed for India in the *Lady Jane Dundas* on March 20, 1804, reaching Madras on July 18 (40). He was principally employed in surveying but served as a volunteer in Colonel St. Leger's short and successful campaign in Travancore against the rebel dewan Vleu Tampi in March 1809. Subsequently he took the first survey of Palamcottah. He died at Madras on November 2, 1813. The third son and youngest child, Samuel Robert Archibald, (born 1791) went to sea as a midshipman in the Company's service. He made two voyages on board his cousin Captain A. F. W. Swinton's ship, the *Lady Burges* Indiaman. The first was in 1804 to Calcutta, where he spent Christmas. Among the passengers was Sir John D'Oyly, the sixth baronet: of whom the boy writes in a letter of August 29, 1804, "off St. Helena, "that" in my life I never saw a person who so much reminds me in every way of that best of Fathers." The ship returned to the Downs on September 9, 1805 and sailed again for "the Bay" from Portsmouth on March 31, 1806: but was wrecked on April 20, 1806. She struck a rock between Sao Jago and Boavista two of the Cape Verde Islands. Thirty-four lives were lost: and among the drowned were three midshipmen, of whom young Swinton was one.

(40) *The Lady Jane Dundas*, together with the *Calcutta* and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* "parted company from the fleet off the Mauritius" on March 14, 1809, on the homeward voyage, and "was not since heard off". There is an allusion to the tragedy in a letter written to James Swinton by his aunt Mrs. Ferguson on February 3, 1810. Among those on board was General Hay MacDowall, the late commander-in-chief at Madras who had been superseded in connexion with the mutiny of British officers. "What a signal misfortune has attended poor General MacDowall, for we cannot now doubt he has perished in *The Lady Jane Dundas* the very ship that landed you in India ... Many worthy characters are gone: Colonel Orr, his wife and family, and many others. If it is ever decreed that you are to be permitted to come home, be on your guard what ship you come in, see that it has a compliment [sic] of good sailors that are able to contend with storms."

Archibald Swinton did not learn of this disaster. He died at Bath on March 6, 1804, at the age of 74: and was buried in the Abbey Church. A marble oval tablet on the north wall of the chancel testifies that it was "erected by his eldest son, Captain John Swinton of H. M. 91st Regiment, as a small tribute of grateful affection to the beloved and revered memory of the best of Fathers." No allusion is made to Swinton's Indian career in the inscription.

The Indian connexion was continued by the descendants of Archibald Swinton's eldest brother John, a Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland under the title of Lord Swinton. The fifth son of the Judge, George, came out to Bengal as a writer in 1804 and served until 1833. He was appointed Chief Secretary in 1827 and acted as temporary member of Council from March 13 to July 3, 1828. Of his five sons, three entered the Indian army, and the other two the Bengal Civil Service, Alan, (1842-1864, Judge of Gorakhpur, died 1868) and Archibald Adam (1842-1867, Judge of Tipperah, died 1894). William Swinton, another of the sons of Lord Swinton, came out to Bengal as a cadet in 1798 and retired in 1831. His two sons went to Madras as writers. George Melville Swinton served from 1834 to 1853, and died at the Cape in the latter year. Robert Blair Swinton served from 1849 to 1874 and died in 1912. He was the father of Lt. Col. F. E. Swinton, C.I.E., I.M.S., now in Bombay, and Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton, R.E., ("Ole Luk Oie") the present Chichele Professor of Military History at Oxford University.

Mention must also be made of Samuel Swinton, another of the sons of Lord Swinton, who came out to Bengal as a writer in 1794, and retired in 1831. He was Commercial Resident at Atawah (1802) and at Keerpooy and Midnapore (1806-1813): and Senior Member of the Board of Customs Salt and Opium (1819). His daughter Mary was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on July 26, 1822, to James Weir Hogg, advocate and Registrar of the Supreme Court, who was a director of the East India Company from 1839 to 1858, twice Chairman (1846 and 1852) and thrice Deputy Chairman (1845, 1850, and 1851) and a member of the Secretary of State's Council from 1858 to 1872.

The portrait of Archibald Swinton which we reproduce is taken from a picture painted in 1787 or 1788 by Naesmith. It hangs at Kimmerghame and represents him on the banks of the Blackadder with his wife and five of their six children, of whom one only (James) is shown in the photograph.

A portrait of Archibald Swinton was also introduced by Benjamin West into his picture of "Shah Alum, the Great Mogul, conveying the Grant of Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to Lord Clive in August, 1765". He stands behind General John Carnac whose aide-de-camp and Persian Interpreter he was. This historic event was the outcome of the Treaty of Allahabad, which was concluded on August 16, 1765, between Clive and Carnac, representing the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and the East India Company, on the one hand, and Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, on the other. The treaty is written in Persian and English and is witnessed

by Swinton, Edmund Maskelyne (the brother-in-law of Clive) and George Vansittart who was Persian translator. The actual document, which was for some time in the possession of Sir John Kaye, hangs in the reading-room of the India Office Library, and a reproduction of it was given in the *Journal of Indian Art for July 1890* (41). A replica of West's picture which was painted for Clive's son the Earl of Powis, was presented to the East India Company in October, 1820. It stood at the India House in the Finance and Home Committee-room and has now been placed in the Finance Committee Room at the India Office (42). Archibald Swinton's son John must be referring to the original picture which is now in the possession of the Earl of Plymouth (whose family name is Windsor Clive) when he writes to his brother James on April 8, 1804, after his father's death: "I have seen West's painting and he offers to make a portrait from it, but, tho' like, it was done when he was so much younger than we can recollect him that it does not convey the idea of him sufficiently strong to make it desirable."

There is another portrait of Swinton at Kimmerghame. It is by Sir Joshua Reynolds who has painted him in a red coat and epaulettes. A photograph of it may be seen in the offices of Messrs. Burn and Company at Calcutta which were removed this year (1925) from the house in Hastings Street, once inhabited by Warren Hastings (43), to the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank Buildings at the corner of Council House Street and Dalhousie Square, which occupy the site of the old Calcutta Exchange.

A word may be said here as to the tradition which connects Archibald Swinton with the foundation of the firm of Burn and Company. Mr. C. B. Chartres, one of the present partners, has been good enough to supply the writer with such information as the firm possesses. It is to be feared that it does not lend support to the theory. In a note prepared in 1924 by Mr. W. M. Glover, the chief accountant, the statement is made, upon the authority of a Mr. Aitchison, that the firm was established about the year 1790 by "Colonel Swinton" who, after leaving the Army, went into business in Calcutta as a builder and contractor. Upon his retirement from India he handed over the management to his foreman, John Rolt, who died in Calcutta about the year 1816 in impoverished circumstances due to large advances made to contractors who subsequently failed to carry out the

(41) See also "Relics of the Honourable East India Company" (1909).

(42) A reproduction of the key-plate, which was drawn on stone by J. Baker and printed by J. Redman, was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 23, and also in the Report of the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission for 1924.

(43) It appears from an entry on June 17, 1779, in the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection at Fort William in Bengal (India Office Records, Home Miscell. Vol. 357) that Warren Hastings presented a minute to the Board, dated the day previous, in which he complained of "the inconveniences which I have hitherto suffered in so circumscribed a habitation as my house in town" and proposed that "the house, the property of the estate of the late Col. Fortnom, be taken for the Company on a lease of one year to commence from the 1st of July at the rent of 1,200 sicca rupees per month for the accommodation of the Governor-General." This is the house now known as 7 Hastings Street which was for so many years occupied by Messrs. Burn and Company.

works entrusted to them (44). If these details are to be accepted, it is clear that Archibald Swinton cannot have been the founder of the firm. He left India in 1766 with the rank of Captain in the Company's service and never revisited the country. Nor will the facts fit his nephew, William, the son of Lord Swinton, regarding whom we have already noted that came out to Bengal as a cadet in 1798 and retired with the rank of Colonel in 1831. Although he can be described with propriety as "Colonel Swinton", the dates of his residence in India put him equally out of Court. It has been suggested that the clue may lie in two elder brothers of Archibald Swinton, Robert and Francis. Both were in the Company's army and both died unmarried. But I have not been able to trace any Francis Swinton on the Bengal establishment: and the Robert Swinton whom I have found served in the Bengal Cavalry from 1794 to 1809, when he resigned, being then a major. The puzzle must be left for solution upon a future occasion.

EVAN COTTON.

(44) Mr. Glover writes: "Mr. Aitchison says that he had this information by hearsay from the late Peter Nichol and from Govinda Baboo, whose source of knowledge was also oral."



ADMIRAL CHARLES WATSON AND HIS SON.
(By the Courtesy of the Manager, "Indian Pictorial Magazine".)

Admiral Watson.

" Exegit monumentum aere perennius ".

THE portrait of Admiral Charles Watson with his son (also named Charles), which we reproduce, is in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. It was purchased by Lord Curzon at Christies' in March 1914. The former owner was Sir Alexander Gibbons, Bart., to whom it was given by his cousin Sir Wager Joseph Watson, the direct descendant of the Admiral and the fourth and last baronet, who died in 1904. Thomas Hudson (1701-1779), the painter, was the master of Sir Joshua Reynolds. The boy, who is in oriental dress, was created a baronet in 1760 in recognition of his father's services. The dress and ornaments are still in existence and are still in the possession of the Rev. C. F. Townley, who is a member of the family.

The picture is the only likeness known of Admiral Watson, and it is therefore of the highest historical value and interest. The mezzotint engraving by E. Fisher of which a copy was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the late Mr. C. W. McMinn in 1904, is undoubtedly based upon the painting, but it does not include the whole of it. The figure of the Admiral is three-quarter length only, and the boy is not introduced.

Admiral Watson died in Calcutta on August 16, 1757, and is buried in St. John's Churchyard. The inscription upon his tomb records that he was Vice-Admiral of the White and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Naval Forces in the East Indies. He was the son of a prebendary of Westminster and was born in 1714. In 1728 he entered the Navy as a volunteer on board the *Romney*, and having high influence at the Admiralty passed rapidly through the lower ranks of the Service.

On March 9, 1754 His Majesty's ship *Kent* of sixty-four guns, commissioned by Captain Henry Spoke and flying the flag of Watson, who was then Rear-Admiral of the Blue, sailed from Plymouth with the *Tyger*, the *Salisbury*, and the *Cumberland*, and two other ships which became disabled almost immediately. They carried on board Adlercron's Regiment of Marines, who were later on to help Clive to win the battle of Plassey, and whose successors, the Thirty Ninth Foot, now the first battalion of the Dorset Regiment, bear on their colours the unique legend "*Primus in Indis*."

The squadron anchored in Bombay harbour on November 11, 1755, and there found Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive, who had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King's artillery with the design of co-operating with the Mahrattas against the French in the Carnatic and the Deccan. A truce, however, had just been concluded, and the opportunity was taken to rid the west coast of a neighbouring pirate, Tulaji Angria, whose stronghold Gheriah was captured on February 13, 1756. After

refitting his ships Watson sailed for Fort Saint George and reached Madras Roads at the same time as the news of Siraj-ud-daula's capture of Calcutta. It was at once decided that Watson and Clive should proceed to Bengal. Nearly two months elapsed before anchor was cast at Fulta, where the remnant of the English settlement had taken refuge. The recapture of Fort William and the burning of Hooghly and Bandel followed in quick succession. The arrival from Europe of news that war had been declared against the French afforded a pretext for an attack on the Naboth's vineyard at Chandernagore. Clive marched by land and Watson took his ships up the river (1). Chandernagore surrendered on March 23, 1757, and after being given up to pillage for four days, was razed to the ground as "a laudable revenge" for Lally's destruction of Fort Saint David on the Coromandel coast.

The log of the *Kent* is preserved at the Record Office in Chancery Lane, and a journal of her voyage was published in 1773 by her surgeon, Edward Ives. But Calcutta may see the list of the squadron's achievements in India thus proudly summed up on Watson's tomb: "Geriah taken, February 13th, 1756: Calcutta freed, January 11th, 1757: Chandernagore taken, March 23rd, 1757. Exegit monumentum aere perennius."

These victories were purchased at great cost. Ives, who was in charge of the naval hospital, has testified that one hundred and eighty men, exclusive of casualties, died between Christmas Day, 1756, and November 7, 1757. Among the victims was the gallant Admiral himself. While he was lying ill, his name, as we know, was attached without his consent to the famous Loll Coggedge, or fictitious treaty on red paper, prepared by the orders of Clive for the deception of Omichand, whom his English contemporaries condemned as the chief instigator of the tragedy of the Black Hole. When he was told of the use made of his name, Watson is said to have exclaimed that, as there was so much iniquity among mankind, he did not wish any longer to remain among them.

The capture of Chandernagore, which supplies a striking tribute to Watson's seamanship forms the subject of a large picture in the "Vanguard Room" at Greenwich Hospital. It bears the following inscription upon the frame:

Part of the squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Watson off Chandernagore. Supporting the land attack by Colonel Clive, 13th February [sic], 1757.

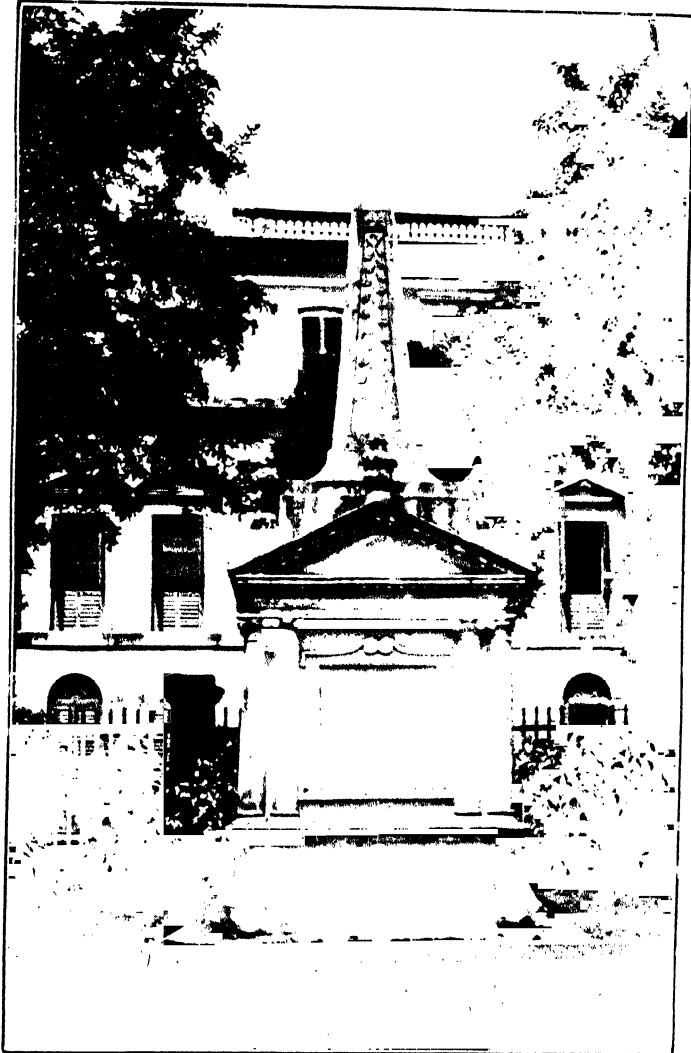
H. M. S. "Kent", 64 guns, Vice-Admiral Watson.

H. M. S. "Cumberland", 70 guns, Rear-Admiral Pocock.

H. M. S. "Tyger", 60 guns, Captain Thomas Latham.

Presented by Mrs. Leedham White, Hewshott House, Liphook, Hants.
The name of the artist is not given.

(1) According to some engineering experts, the Hooghly is now a dying river. It shows unmistakeable signs of silting up. Near Chinsurah it is possible to walk half across its width during the hot weather months, and at Berhampore it is easily fordable.



TOMB OF ADMIRAL CHARLES WATSON IN
ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD.

" Geriah taken, February 13th, 1756.

Calcutta freed, January 11th, 1757.

Chandernagore taken March 23rd, 1757.

Exegi monumentum ære perennius."

Died August 16th, 1757, in the 44th year of his age.

A monument by Peter Scheemakers, erected by the East India Company in the north transept of Westminster Abbey near the graves of Gladstone, Pitt, Fox, and Grattan, does honour to the memory of the deliverer of Calcutta. His second-in-command and successor Sir George Pocock, afterwards Admiral of the Blue, is commemorated by a marble statue in Roman costume, also executed by Scheemakers, which formerly stood in the General Room at the India House, and is now in the India Office.

[Reproduced by permission, from the "Indian Pictorial Magazine" of November 7, 1925.]

Notes on the Life and Times

OF

Ranjit Singh.

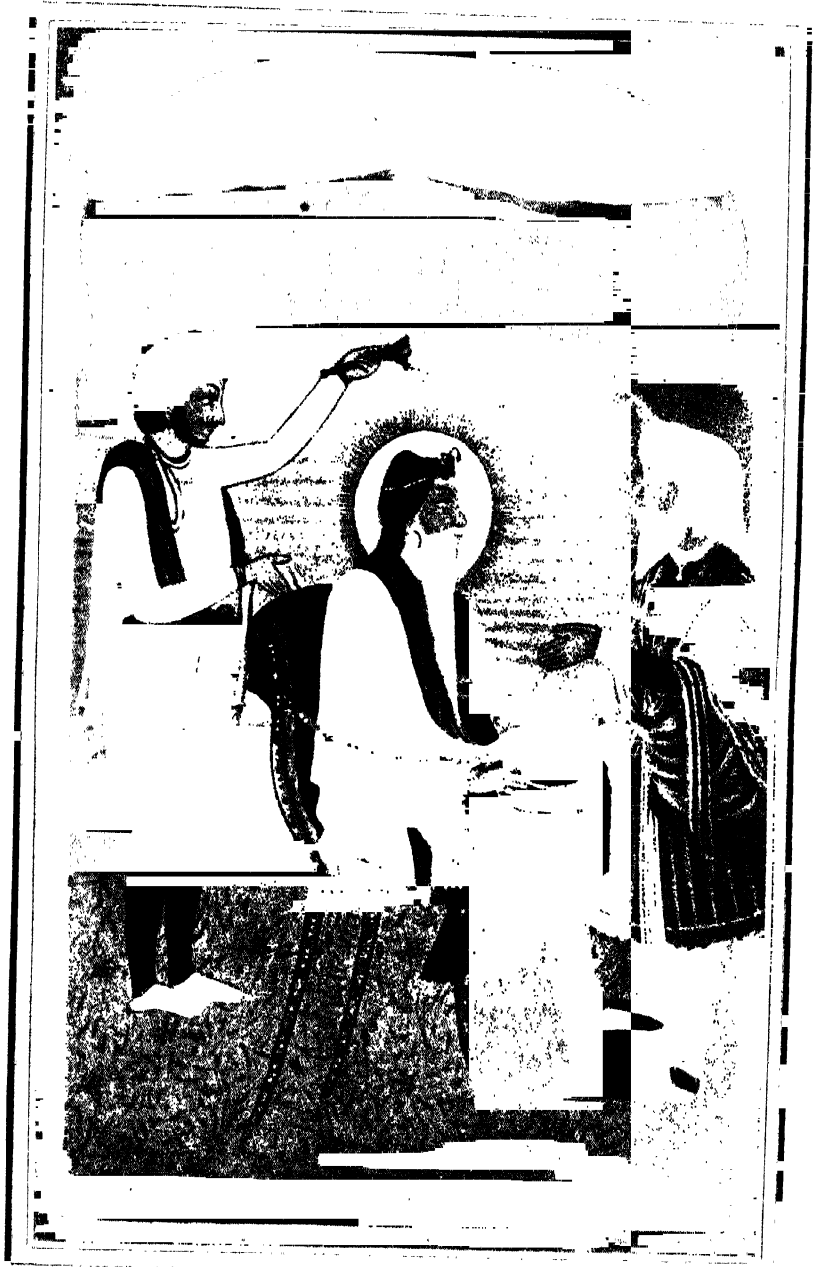
CAPTAIN the Hon'ble W. G. Osborne, Military Secretary to the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India (1836-42),* who visited the Court of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Adinanagar in 1838 remarked: "The attention which is bestowed upon Indian politics and history is so rare and superficial, that there are probably many persons to whom the name of Ranjit Singh is sufficiently familiar, who are very imperfectly acquainted with his origin, career and the nation which he ruled." In spite of the march of time and the growing thirst for historical research this observation holds good to-day. This monograph, based as it is, on unpublished records in the archives of the Government of India, should throw a new flood of light on the life and times of the "Lion of the Punjab."

2. There is, perhaps, no more notable and picturesque figure among the Indian Chiefs who rose to power and carved his way to eminence on the ruins of the once great and magnificent Mughal Empire than the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore. In the beginning of the 19th century amidst the fierce conflicts and dissensions of the Sikh Chiefs and *Sirdars* he found his opportunity and seizing it with energy and promptitude welded an unruly and disorganised people into a compact and powerful nation and converted them into a strong military body, "which" according to Hunter "for steadiness and religious fervour has had no parallel since the 'Ironsides' of Oliver Cromwell."

3. The great French traveller Victor Jacquemont, who visited Ranjit Singh's Court at Lahore, remarked: "Ranjit Singh is an extraordinary man—a Bonaparte in miniature." His conversation is like a night-mare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have met and his curiosity balances the apathy of his nation. He has asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the British, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the next, hell, paradise, God, the devil and a myriad of others of the same kind."

4. Jacquemont's comparison of Ranjit Singh with Napoleon is not as fanciful as it appears. From the records we find that Ranjit Singh had many similarities with Napoleon. Ranjit Singh's way of honouring his famous generals, Misser Dewan Chand with the title of "Khair Khwah Ba-safa Zafar Jang Bahadur"

* Capt. Osborne was also the nephew of Lord Auckland (*vide* Sec. O. C. 3rd October 1838, No. 102).



MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH.
Reproduced from a painting in the collection of
Mr. A. Ghosh of Calcutta.

and with a *khilat* valued at a lakh of rupees after the fall of Multan in 1818 and Boodh Singh with the honorary dress on the battle-field after his suppression of Syed Ahmed's terrible revolt near Attock early in 1827 (1) greatly resembled Napoleon's way of honouring his famous marshals, Lannes and Davout, after the battle of Montebello and Auerstadt in 1800 and 1806; Ranjit Singh's hazardous expedition in 1822 to the Afghan town of Menkerah (2)—an inhospitable, sandy and cheerless tract between the Indus and the Sutlej—and Napoleon's expeditions to the deserts of Syria and Egypt in 1798 have many features in common; Ranjit Singh's way of encouraging his disheartened troops at the fierce Battle of Nowshera in 1823 "by placing himself at the heat of the battle with a flying standard in hand and uttering fiery words of exhortations" (3) reminds us of the tactics which Napoleon so often displayed in his several battles, notably at Arcola and Lodi in 1796; Ranjit Singh's expedition against the wild and warlike Afghan tribes of the Derbend country (in Baluchistan) after crossing the most dangerous part of the Indus between Ghazi and Tribela in 1825 (4) corresponds in several ways to Napoleon's great expedition against the hardy and impetuous Cossacks of Russia after crossing the Niemen river in 1809; Ranjit Singh's masterly retreat from the Derbend province to Lahore single-handed through hills, mountains and deserts at the astonishing speed of 50 to 60 miles a day after recrossing the Indus (5) recalls to our mind Napoleon's great retreat from Moscow through the wilds of Russia to Paris all alone in 1812 after effecting the perilous passage of the River Beresina. Sir Lepel Griffin, a writer of great repute, also finds many common features between the kingdoms of Ranjit Singh and Napoleon. He says: "The Sikh monarchy founded by Ranjit Singh was *Napoleonic* in the suddenness of its rise, the brilliancy of its success and the completeness of its overthrow."

5. Regarding the "inquisitiveness" of Ranjit Singh of which Jacques Ranjit Singh's mont speaks, a detailed account of his 'Insatiable inquisitiveness. curiosity' will be found in the letters (6) of Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana, to the Secretary of the Board, dated the 22nd, 25th and 31st May 1831 and 31st December 1832. The Hon'ble Captain Osborne who had the opportunity of conversing with Ranjit Singh in 1838 thus speaks of his "keen inquisitiveness" in his (Osborne's) *Journal*:—"It is hardly possible to give an idea of the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow or the infinite variety of subjects they embrace." This shews how eager he was "to increase the sphere of his knowledge and information" and how with

(1) For. & Pol. Dept. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 18-19 and 165.

(2) For. & Pol. Dept. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 135-6.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 142.

(4) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc. Vol. No. 206, p. 155; (in this attempt Ranjit Singh lost more than 500 men by drowning).

(5) *Ibid*, p. 157.

(6) Pol. O. C. 1st July 1831, Nos. 42-5; Sec. O. C. 23rd April, 1833, No. 14.

no advantage of early education he made himself the best-informed man in the Punjab.

An interesting story is given by an anonymous writer in a recent issue of *The Statesman** which is well worth repeating:—

“Ranjit Singh fell once into a great fit of curiosity about Lord Auckland's religion, the Governor-General having declined engagements for Sundays and Christmas day; so he sent his *fakcer* to the Chaplain for translations of what the Chaplain says to the Lord Sahib every Sunday, and one day, after a review, he stopped the Chaplain to ask him questions about our prayers. One day he wanted the Chaplain to come and explain to him what it all meant. The Chaplain went, taking with him translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the prayer for the Governor-General. The Commandments, the Governor-General thought, must have been a puzzle to Ranjit, especially the one about not coveting one's neighbour's goods. Ranjit was very much interested, the Chaplain reported on his return, and his *fakcer*, and Dhian Singh, asked a great many questions.”

6. Ranjit Singh cannot lay claim to a notable pedigree. From the Ranjit Singh's records (7) his origin can be traced to a petty *Zemindar* origin. (some say farmer) by the name of Daisoo, a Jat of Sansee race, who dwelt in a village called Sukercheck in the district of Manjha. A son by the name of Nodh and a humble patrimony of “three ploughs and a well” were “all” which Daisoo possessed in this world. It may be noted here that the possession of wells is considered very valuable in the Punjab, where on account of the dearth of extensive river-systems and water-supply, any reservoir of water is a source of wealth to their possessors. The value of wells in the Punjab is evidenced by the fact that when Ranjit Singh visited Menkerah in 1822 he ordered several wells to be dug around its Fort. (8)“ Little did Daisoo dream that one of his descendants was destined to carve out for himself a great kingdom, greater than Italy, (9) to be the proud possessor of that peerless gem, the Kohinoor, (10)—once the glory of Wells in the Punjab. the Peacock throne of the Mughal Court, to become a powerful potentate, whose friendship would be courted not only by the Indian Chiefs and Rajas but also by foreign kings and princes and successive Governors-General from the Earl of Minto down to the Earl of Auckland (11), that he would create a powerful and well-trained army strong enough to resist the whole might

*“ Kim ” in *The Statesman* of Nov. 1st 1925. “ Fakcer ” mentioned in the above passage apparently refers to “ Faqir Azizuddin ” (see footnote 82).

(7) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 45.

(8) For. & Pol. Dept., Vol. No. 206, p. 135.

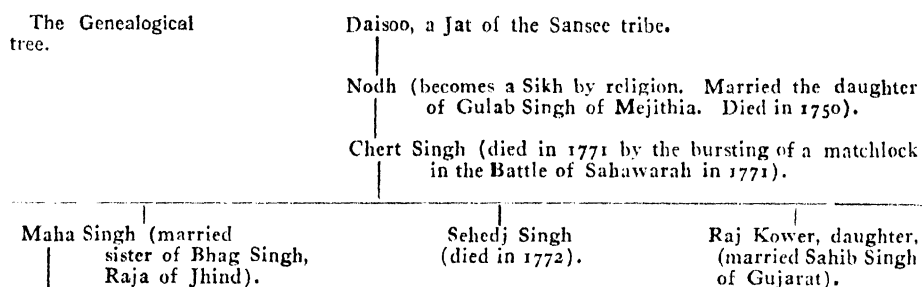
(9) *The Sikhs* by Gen. Sir J. H. Gordon, p. 118.

(10) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 98-9.

(11) Pol. O. C. 18th July, 1838, Nos. 52-4; Sec. O. C. 16th October, 1839, No. 12; Pol. O. C. 29th July, 1831, Nos. 39-40, etc.

of the British Empire in the hard-contested Sikh Wars (1845-9) and, on his death, would leave the Empire he founded at the zenith of its glory. "Such was the magnificence of his palaces at Lahore, Cashmere, Multan and Adinanagar" that Ranjit Singh admitted to Capt. Wade that "he himself felt surprised at the gifts of Fortune in changing his destiny". (12) What a contrast between Daisoo, the humble possessor of "a well and three ploughs" and his descendant, Ranjit Singh—the undisputed monarch of "the Land of the five rivers!"

7. The following is the family genealogical tree collected from available records (13):—



Ranjit Singh (born on the 2nd November, 1780. Died on the 27th June, 1839).

8. Let us now turn for a moment to the history of the East India Company in Bengal. The year in which Maha Singh, the father of Ranjit Singh, was born was the most momentous in the annals of the Company. It was the year 1757 (14). In this memorable year Lord Clive sowed on the battle field of Plassey the seed of the great British-Indian Empire.

9. Maha Singh, who was a brave predatory chief, died in 1787 (15) at the early age of 30 leaving a fairly large territory. Ranjit Singh was then, according to the records, a boy of 7 years of age. As during this period, women* used to play an important part in public affairs, the task of administering the estates left by Maha Singh devolved on his widow, who was assisted by her late husband's dewan named Lekhoo or Lekhpert Singh.

(12) Sec. O. C. 23rd April, 1833, No. 14. (Letter from C. M. Wade to W. H. Macnaughten, dated 31st December, 1832, para. 3).

(13) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 45-9.

(14) But Syed Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab* puts this date as 1760, and the year of his death as 1792 (p. 335).

(15) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 51. But Gordon in his book, *the Sikhs*, puts this date as 1792 (p. 83); he further says that Ranjit Singh was twelve years old when his father died.

* They not only took part in 'public affairs' but also in 'military affairs'. Mae Sedda Kower, mother-in-law of Ranjit materially helped him in his military campaigns (*vide* For. & Pol., Misc., Vol. 206, pp. 67 and 124).

(16). Obsessed with the glamour of power she was even unmindful of her own son's interests. Ranjit Singh, however, was a boy of a different mould altogether. Instead of indulging in idle pleasures, he spent his time in manly and warlike exercises (17). He himself told Captain Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, in one of his conversations with him in the year 1831 (18) that "when my father died, he left 20,000 rounds of shots which I spent in firing at marks". Such 'heroic boyhood' was surely not destined by Nature to lose itself in effeminate degeneracy as planned by his selfish mother.

10. At the age of 13 (about the year 1793), Ranjit Singh (19), with the aid of his father's maternal uncle, Dal Singh, assumed the government of his father's estates. It may be noted here that Ranjit Singh has been accused by some writers (20) of matricide "to remove the obstacle which interfered with the attainment of his ambition". But there is nothing definite in the records which can substantiate this charge. This much only is alleged (21). "It is said that the means which Ranjit Singh adopted to effect his purpose involved a commission of some criminal acts, which if founded on truth, would appear deeply to implicate his moral character."

11. Ranjit Singh's great career since his assumption of his government in 1793 up to his last campaign against Peshawar in 1828 was a long series of thrilling military exploits extending over 40 years which, according to Sir Lepel Griffin, "undoubtedly puts his name among the great leaders of men from Julius Caesar down to Napoleon Bonaparte".

12. It is not within the scope of this paper to recount in detail the campaigns of Ranjit Singh, but two of the most important of them cannot be overlooked:—

(1) Against Lahore:—

Ranjit Singh's campaign against Lahore in 1799 in which he was materially aided by his mother-in-law, Mae Sedda Kower, was "the first event of his life from which his rise is chiefly to be dated" (22). It was here in 1801 that Ranjit Singh "formally assumed the title of 'Maharaja' and established a Mint and issued in token of sovereignty a coin in his name, on the obverse of which was the inscription 'Hospitality, the Sword, Victory and Conquest,' and on the reverse, the era and place of coining."

(16) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 52.

(17) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 52-3.

(18) Pol. O. C. 1 July 1831, No. 45.

(19) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 53; but Gordon and Thorburn in their works, *The Sikhs* and *The Punjab in Peace and War*, put the age as 17.

(20) *The Punjab in Peace and War* by S. S. Thorburn, p. 21; *The History of India*, by Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 274.

(21) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 53.

(22) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 57-8.

(2) Against Azim Khan:—

Ranjit Singh's campaign against the Afghan King, Azim Khan (23) who came to invade his dominion in 1823 ranks as one of the greatest battles of the world. "The army of Azim Khan was estimated at 25,000 and Ranjit Singh had about 35,000 men." It would have ended in disaster for Ranjit Singh, had not his propitious star brought providential help to him. On the fateful field of Nowshera where the two armies met, the troops of Azim Khan fought with such desperation that Ranjit Singh very nearly lost his crown. The documents say that the Afghans "worked up to a pitch of frenzied enthusiasm, stained their hands and feet with the juice of *henna* and rushed upon the Sikhs." It further appears from the records, that just when the Afghans were going to strike the decisive blow, Azim Khan, their Chief, misled by a false rumour "that the Sikhs had penetrated to the rear of the field and that his harem was in danger," hastily retreated from the field to its rescue—a fact which dispirited his soldiers and led victory to the standard of Ranjit Singh.

13. Although to build his mighty empire Ranjit Singh humbled successive Chiefs and *Sirdars* of the Punjab and the adjoining countries and used all manner of means to exact big tributes and *nazaranas* from them to enrich and replenish his Treasury (24), let it be said to his credit, that he never wantonly sullied and soiled his hands with their blood. On the contrary, the records of the Imperial Record Department, teem with instances of his favour and bounty, bestowed irrespective of caste, creed and religion. In some cases even the booty (25) taken by his soldiers was ordered to be returned to the proper owners. For a full catalogue of such favoured names, the records may be profitably consulted.

14. The following testimonies of three eminent Europeans regarding the clemency of Ranjit Singh, amply repay perusal. Baron Carl Von Hugel, a German traveller who visited Ranjit Singh's Court in 1835, thus speaks about him:—"The sole aim of Ranjit Singh is the preservation and extension of his unlimited power; and though his ambitious mind considered all means perfectly allowable to this end he has never wantonly imbrued his hands in blood. Never perhaps was so large an empire founded by one man with so little criminality". H. E. Fane, Aide-de-Camp to the then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, who visited the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1837, supports the above view: "Ranjit has the character generally of a kind and generous master and one of the best princes that has ever reigned in India. As evidence of being a really good man may be cited the fact

(23) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 140-45; Ranjit Singh was so much impressed with the "furious impetuosity" of the Afghan soldiers on the battle-field of Nowshera that he remarked to Capt. Wade "the Sikhs hardly know how to contend" (page 141).

(24) Capt. Osborne says that "Ranjit had 12 millions in gold in his Treasury at Amritsar in 1839. (Osborne's *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, London 1840, p. 218).

(25) For. & Pol., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 118.

of his never having put a man to death for even the most heinous crime. His exceeding kindness and good nature throughout our entire visit makes us believe that such was his real character." Osborne who, at the instance of Lord Auckland, visited the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1838, also corroborates the above opinion in the following terms: "The Maharaja rules with a rod of iron, it is true; but in justice to him it must be stated that except in actual open warfare he has never been known to take life, though his own (26) has been attempted more than once, and his reign will be found freer from any striking acts of cruelty and oppression than those of many more civilized monarchs."

Ranjit Singh's
shortcomings.

15. None the less he was not without his blemishes:—

- (a) About the year 1810 (27), Ranjit Singh, without any justification, exacted 10,000 rupees from the innocent *faqirs* of Utchgul Imam, the shrine of a Muhammadan saint.
- (b) About the year 1813 (28) he extorted the 'Kohinoor' jewel from its possessor, Shah Shuja, ex-monarch of Cabul, who was at the time under his protection.
- (c) In 1817 (29) Ranjit Singh without sufficient reason dispossessed the Raja of Nurpur at the instigation of Raja Sansar Chand, Chief of Katoch, who bore a private grudge and had him placed in confinement.
- (d) In 1821 (30), Ranjit Singh without apparent reason imprisoned, after confiscating all her territories, his mother-in-law, Mae Sedda Kower, who had so largely helped him in his earlier career. It may, however, be mentioned that her estate of Wednee, on the east of the Sutlej, was immediately released on the intervention of Capt. Murray, then at Ludhiana.
- (e) About the year 1822 (31) some *Jagirdas* were heavily fined by Ranjit Singh without any adequate reason. One of them, Sirdar Dal Singh, who was fined one lakh of rupees committed suicide by taking poison.
- (f) Some time in the year 1826 (32) Ranjit Singh's character underwent a great change and it became a strange combination of "excessive liberality and avarice". While he was granting extensive charity to his favourites he was committing "indiscriminate extortion from every officer of the State". Misser Dewan Chand—a sturdy upright man and the hero of the Multan, Cashmere

(26) Pol. O. C. 1 July 1831, No. 43.

(27) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 86.

(28) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 99.

(29) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 112.

(30) *Ibid*, p. 125.

(31) *Ibid*, p. 139.

(32) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 161-2.

and Derbend expeditions—strongly protested against the Maharaja's avarice. Ranjit Singh so far forgot himself that he severely scolded him for his so-called audacity. This was too much for the heart of that great soldier. Deeply mortified, he ended his life, some say, by poison.

- (g) In 1828 (33) Ranjit Singh tried to force Raja Anuruddha Chand, Chief of Katoch, to marry his sister with his favourite minister, Raja Dhiyan Singh. But Anuruddha refused the alliance on account of the obscure origin of Dhiyan Singh. As Ranjit Singh still continued to press Raja Anuruddha unreasonably for this marriage, the latter requested a month's time to enable his sister to take a bath in the holy waters of the Ganges at Hurdwar—an act essential for a Punjab lady preliminary to her marriage. In the meantime Raja Anuruddha with his family and sister fled to Nalagher, east of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh on this plea dispossessed him of his territories and annexed them.

16. Ranjit Singh's first relations with the British began in 1805 (34), just after his return to Lahore from his Multan expedition of 1804. In that year he first came into contact with the British by taking an important part in the treaty which was concluded between Jaswant Rao Holkar and Lord Lake when the former, after crossing the Beas river at Byrowal, entered Ranjit Singh's dominion near Amritsar, closely pursued by the latter. But his first permanent connection with the British dates from the year 1808. It happened thus:—The phenomenal military success of his great general, Dewan Mohkem Chand, on the Cis-Sutlej states in 1807 (35) emboldened Ranjit Singh to conquer the whole country east of the Sutlej up to the Jamuna—the northern boundary of the then Company's dominion in India. To force him to desist and also to invite his co-operation to thwart the threatened attack of Napoleon on India about this time, Lord Minto sent a mission to his Court (36) in 1808 headed by Charles Metcalfe, then First Assistant to the Resident at Delhi.

17. It happened that amongst Metcalfe's attendants there were a number of Muhammadans. It being *Muharram* time of 1809. (February 1809) they were celebrating the martyrdom of Husain with the usual ceremonies. The passing of *taziahs* to the place of burial to the accompaniment of wailing and tomtoming excited the Akali Sikhs to frenzy. A rush upon Metcalfe's camp would have surely taken place, had not these handful of Muhammadans, trained in European military discipline, stood to arms and scattered the rioters. Ranjit Singh reached

(33) *Ibid*, pp. 171-3.

(34) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 70.

(35) *Ibid*, pp. 74-5.

(36) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 76.

the scene just in time to see the Sikhs dispersed. He hastened to Metcalfe, made ample apologies for the unprovoked attack on his men, complimented

Treaty of Amritsar, 1809. him on the discipline of his sepoys and granted all the British demands. He then entered into a friendly treaty

with the British on the 25th April, 1809 (37), the details of which are given in the records (38). One important condition of the treaty was that "the Maharaja should not extend his conquests to the east of the Sutlej".

18. The Muharram incident established his faith in European military discipline and he sought to have his soldiers trained according to Western standards. We find from the records (39) that in the fierce battle of Nowshera with the Afghans in 1823, when the fate of his empire was in the balance (40), Ranjit Singh once more felt strongly the necessity of imparting European military training to his troops.

19. After the fall of the magnificent Mughal Empire in the beginning of the 19th century, Hindusthan presented a sad spectacle A peep into the later Mughal period. of constant internecine warfare, rapine and violence.

The imbecility of the later Mughal Emperors, their indolence and love of ease and luxury paved the way for ambitious foreign adventurers to try their fortune in India—which appeared to them a most alluring prize, a land strewn with gems and jewels—a perfect *El Dorado* of Fairy tale. Bands

Foreign adventurers into Indian Courts. of enterprising Europeans (41) began to flood the Indian Courts and enter the armies of the Native rulers. Their

unquestionable talent and knowledge of military tactics won the admiration of the Native Princes and Chiefs, who eagerly employed them with a view to organizing their armies according to European modes of discipline.

20. Amongst these adventurers were two French veterans of Waterloo —Allard and Ventura—whose services were eagerly utilised by the Maharaja about the year 1823. From the records (42) it appears that after the fall of the Napoleonic Empire on the field of Waterloo in 1815, they left their native country, passed through Constantinople and Asia Minor, and accepted service in Persia. Not meeting with any success there, they proceeded to India by way of Candahar, Cabul and Peshawar and arrived at Shahdara opposite to Lahore in 1823. Although their admission into Ranjit Singh's service stirred the jealousy of his old servants, we find from the records that "it created a new era in his Government which led to those changes in its military organisation which the benefit of European science is calculated to introduce." It is interesting to note the Frenchmen's smart reply—that "a shawl once woven cannot be re-woven"—when a battalion already trained in Indian

(37) *Ibid*, p. 78.

(38) *Ibid*, pp. 78-80.

(39) *For. Misc.*, Vol. 206, pp. 141-2.

(40) *Ibid*, p. 142.

(41) *India Pol. Despatch to the Court of Directors*, No. 14 of 1831.

(42) *For. Misc.*, Vol. 206, pp. 125-34.

methods were put under them for European training. The following incident shows how the appointments of European foreigners in the army of the Maharaja was resented by the Sikh soldiers:—"In 1826 Generals Ventura and Allard represented to the Maharaja that a number of Sikh *Sardars* and soldiers had refused to serve under them as they were foreigners and were ready to oppose their authority with drawn swords. The Maharaja at once at the head of a body of troops and with some guns came out of the city to Anarkali and ordered his tents to be pitched there. Many arrests were made, officers degraded and ringleaders fined. These prompt measures restored order among the troops, the Maharaja taking the utmost precaution to allay unfounded fears." Next year, Ranjit Singh allowed some more Europeans to enter his army. They were Oms, a Spaniard, Court, a Frenchman, Avitabile, an Italian, and Mevius, a Prussian. In the year 1831 an Italian, Signior Catchioli (43), came to Ranjit Singh's Court at Lahore for service but failed to secure it. It is interesting to note that Ranjit Singh also encouraged the Gurkhas (44) to enter his arm. His army, besides these, contained a large number of Muhammadan troops (45)

21. The suicide of Ranjit Singh's great general, Missir Dewan Chand, in 1826 (*vide* page 48) was an irreparable loss to the Punjab and was followed by a series of unhappy events. In that very year (46) the

Ranjit Singh's ill-health. Maharaja was struck down by a serious attack of fever, due to the excessive rains of that year. On account of the virulence and obstinacy of the fever, Doctor Murray of Ludhiana was immediately sent for by Faqir Imam-ud-din, the Maharaja's most devoted officer. The doctor at the request of the Maharaja stayed with him for nearly 7 months. Under his able treatment the Maharaja regained his normal condition. It appears from the records that Doctor Murray made a very favourable impression on the Maharaja, though Latif in the *History of the Punjab* (p. 436) says:—"that Doctor Murray was kept more as an object of curiosity than anything else." At the end of this year (we learn from the records) some powerful subject-chiefs threw up their allegiance to the Maharaja and tried to be independent of him. Further we find

The Cholera outbreak of 1827. from the papers that in the monsoon of the year 1827 (47), Cholera—which about this period was raging in Hindusthan—reached the Punjab. Its effects on the Punjab and the adjoining countries were terrific. It devastated the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, claiming for its victim no less a man than General Boodh Singh, who had only a few months before done signal service in checking the terrible revolt of the Afghan fanatic, Syed Ahmed, near Attock—a brilliant military

(43) Pol. O. C., 4 Nov. 1831, No. 19.

(44) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 43; 18 July 1838, No. 53.

(45) Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, Nos. 11-12.

(46) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 162.

(47) For. Misc., Vol. 206, pp. 169-71.

achievement for which Capt. Wade congratulated the Maharaja (48). 'This scourge', say the documents, (49) "extended quickly from the plains of the Punjab to Cashmere, when its progress was marked with increased devastation, about 10,000 persons having perished in the valley." To add to the calamity, "a severe earthquake (50) occurred there nearly at the same time, which overthrew many houses and buried many people in their ruins."

22. Ranjit Singh's love for horses amounted almost to a passion and he maintained an enormous stud for his personal use, Ranjit Singh's love for horses. collected from all parts of India, Arabia and Persia. From the records (51), we find, that in making treaties with the vanquished foes and in punishing his refractory subordinate Chiefs, he was in the habit of demanding horses as one of the essential conditions. The records further enlighten us, what enormous amount of trouble he took between the years 1820 and 1828 to secure the horse "Leilee" of rare beauty from its owner, Yar Muhammad Khan, Governor of Peshawar, and how liberally he rewarded Ventura for ultimately securing the animal for him through the instrumentality of his friend, Sheikh Faiz. Ranjit Singh also secured another horse named "Zerd Kehar" from the Afghans of Peshawar in 1827. The Maharaja's peculiarity was so well-known to the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck (52), that on several occasions he presented beautiful horses to him.

23. In dress the Maharaja was scrupulously simple, though his court, The dress of Ranjit Singh. which was an imitation of the Court of the Great Mughals, was thronged with "Chiefs and Nobles blazing with gold and jewels and dressed and armed in every conceivable variety of colour and fashion." In winter and spring he generally wore a warm dress of saffron-coloured Cashmere cloth and in the hot weather white Bengal Muslin without jewel or ornament. His liking for Bengal Muslin can be adduced from the fact that in the year 1832 (53) the British Government presented 10 pieces of the finest Dacca Muslin to him. From the papers (54), we also find that Benares *Kimkhab*s and other valuable wearing stuffs were not distasteful to him. The simplicity in dress of the Maharaja, even when attending his Court is thus described by Captain Osborne who was present at his Adinanagar Court in 1838:—"Cross-legged in a golden chair, dressed in simple white, wearing no ornaments but a single string*

(48) For a complete history of Syed Ahmed the students are referred to the *History of the Punjab* by S. M. Latif, pp. 437-9; Pol. O. C. July 1831, No. 42.

(49) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 169.

(50) *Ibid*, p. 170.

(51) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 156.

(52) Pol. O. C., 22 July 1831, Nos. 23-4; 4 Nov. 1831, Nos. 76-8; 30 Dec. 1831, Nos. 42-4.

(53) Pol. O. C., 4 June 1832, Nos. 4 & 7-8.

(54) Pol. O. C., 26 Aug. 1831, No. 57; 4 Nov. 1831, No. 52.

* Capt. Osborne speaks thus about this ornament:—"The Maharaja's string of pearls was, I think, handsomer than the diamond—Kohinoor. They are about 300 in number and literally the size of small marbles, all picked pearls and round, and perfect both in shape and colour."

of enormous pearls round the waist and the celebrated Kohinoor or 'mountain of light' on his arm—the jewel rivalled, if not surpassed, in brilliancy by the glance of fire which every now and then shot from his single eye as it wandered restlessly round the circle—sat the 'Lion of the Punjab'."

24. On the festive occasion of the Dussera, which for the generality of Indian Chiefs is an occasion for profuse display of grandeur of dress, was for Ranjit Singh an occasion for holding grand military reviews. Capt. Wade who attended the Maharaja's celebration of this festival on the 16th October 1831 writes thus (55) to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Board, on the 19th of that month:—"It was an interesting festival. The plain on which it was held was covered with troops which, after the proper ceremonies for the day, passed before the Maharaja and afforded me an excellent opportunity of seeing the whole of the Sikh army and all the *Sirdars* and diplomatic agents attending His Highness' Court." Again in the letter which Shahamut Ali (*Munshi* of Capt. Wade) wrote to Capt. Wade on the 14th October 1837 (56) about Ranjit Singh's *Dussera* festival held at 'Baba Nanak Ka Dehra' in that year, we find strong evidence of the Maharaja's predilection for military displays and not for mere spectacular exhibitions. "Soon after our arrival, the troops were ordered to pass on inspection. The Regiments N. I. of Mons. Ventura and Mons. Court with bands of musicians playing at the head of each Regiment and followed by a man bearing the *Granth* (Sikh holy book) passed first and were preceded by the Regiments of cavalry under the command of Mons. Allard. About 200 *sowars* who were dressed in cuirasses were at the head of them. They were followed by a large train of horse artillery. After their Regiments had passed inspection Messrs. Allard and Court waited on His Highness. The former made a *nazar* of some new coins made of gold and silver and struck in France." The letter (57) of Capt. Wade to Mr. Prinsep dated the 31st May 1831 proves that in his interviews with important European officials, Ranjit Singh took more delight in showing his guests the shooting-skill of his soldiers and officers than in displaying before them the grandeur of his wearing apparel. A careful study of the records (58) will also show that even amidst the pleasures of "nautch-girls and shining cups of wine" when talk and display of dress absorbed the attention of other men, Ranjit Singh preferred to converse with Sir David Ochterlony on military and commercial

(55) Sec. O. C., 25 Nov. 1831, No. 50.

(56) Pol. O. C., 18 July 1838, No. 53; This document contains a very graphic description of the Maharaja's *Dussera* festival in the year 1837.

(57) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 45.

(58) *Ibid.*, No. 43.

subjects such as the Amritsar treaty of 1809, the navigation of the Indus, and the state of his relations with Sind (59).

25. Ranjit Singh's religion, as far as can be ascertained from the Ranjit Singh's records, was the moral system propagated by the Sikh Religion. reformer, Guru Govind, greatly modified by Brahminical tenets. The following instances will illustrate this point:—

- (a) On the birth of his son, Kharak Singh, in 1802 (60) he went to bathe in the "pool of Tarentaren", near Amritsar—a tank sacred to the Sikhs. "This pool" according to Hunter "has the reputation of possessing miraculous powers on all persons afflicted with leprosy who can swim across it. He further richly ornamented the Sikh temple which was built by its side and overlaid it with plates of copper gilt."
- (b) In the year 1803 (61) he went on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hurdwar—the sacred city of the Hindus—which was then in the hands of the Mahrattas.
- (c) In the year 1815 Ranjit Singh presented a gilded roof to the Jwalamukhi temple at Kangra and in 1831 sent 125 rupees (62) as an offering to the shrine.
- (d) In 1823 (63) after the terrible Battle of Nowshera he went to the Golden Temple of Amritsar "to offer thanks-giving for his victory and to make a donation of a lakh of rupees to the Sikh priests".
- (e) Capt. Wade (64), who was present at his Court at Adinanagar in 1831, tells us that "about 1 p.m. he rises and passes an hour in hearing a portion of the *Granth* read out to him."
- (f) In the year 1838 (65) when Lord Auckland paid him a visit at Amritsar, the Maharaja went with him to attend the religious service at the Golden Temple.
- (g) Lastly we find, that when in the year 1839 (66), the shadow of death was fast creeping upon his paralysed body he ordered

(59) The records of 1833 deal *in extenso* with Ranjit Singh's attempt to promote the commercial growth of the Punjab by placing the system of transit duties in that country on a firm basis, by removing the vexatious taxes, by opening the Indus and the Sutlej and by the commercial treaties with the English (*vide* Sec. O. C., 4 Feb. 1833, Nos. 5—10; Sec. O. C., 23 Apr. 1833, Nos. 14-19, etc.). We also find from Pol. O. C. 23 May 1833, Nos. 19-20, that the Maharaja proposed to open a salt-depot at Mithankote. See also Aitchison's *Treaties*, etc., Vol. II, 1863, pp. 240-50.

(60) *For. Misc.*, Vol. 206, p. 66.

(61) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

(62) *Pol. O. C.*, 1 July 1831, No. 42.

(63) *For. Misc.* Vol. 206, p. 145.

(64) *Pol. O. C.*, 1 July 1831, No. 45.

(65) *The Sikhs* by J. H. Gordon, p. 109.

(66) *Sec. O. C.*, 4 December 1839, No. 78.

(though the order was never carried out) that the Kohinoor should be sent to the temple of Jaggannath at Puri.

These incidents tend to prove that whatever may have been the actual religious faith of Ranjit Singh, it was undoubtedly greatly influenced by the Brahminical cult. But that the Maharaja was not a religious bigot will be evidenced from the fact that he had also great faith in the prayers of Muhammadan *faqirs* and *darveshes*. (67)

26. As a hard-hearted man of the world the Maharaja should have been above all weaknesses, yet at times, we find he was a slave to superstition and put faith in omens, charms, and witchcraft. It appears from the records that in the course of his dealings with the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in 1831 (68) he ordered his court priests to consult the pages of the *Holy Granth* and his court astrologer to divine from the aspect of the stars whether the results would be favourable to him or not. Again we find that "in the year 1833 the Maharaja again fell ill. He offered a pair of shawls, 1,000 rupees in money and 25 pieces of crystallized sugar as a *nazar* to a Bairagi *Faqir*, who lived on the banks of the Ravi to pray for his recovery. But these things were distributed among the poor by the order of the *Faqir*. On the night previous to the first day of the moon the Maharaja dreamt a dream. He saw a band of Sikhs dressed in black, with dreadful features, speaking harshly to him. Ranjit Singh was highly perplexed at this and Brahmins and astrologers were consulted as to the interpretation of the dream. They declared, after a reference to their holy books that the Sikhs whom he had seen in his dream were the soldiers of God (Nihangs) who had come to tell him that he had relinquished the religion of the *Guru* by marrying in that year Gul Bahar, a Muhammadan dancing-girl of Amritsar, and that, unless atonement was made, the wrath of the *Guru* would not be averted. It was therefore resolved that the Maharaja should take 'the *Pahul*' (69) afresh and renew the faith of his ancestors by doing penance for his sin. The Maharaja allowed himself to be duly invested with 'the *Pahul*' of the *Guru* for the second time. It may, however, be pointed out that in accepting 'the *Pahul*' it was not the intention of the Maharaja to discard Gul Bahar, the charming Nautch girl of Amritsar." Captain Osborne has expressed some doubt as to the genuineness of the Maharaja's superstition. He says that "it is difficult to say whether his superstition is real or only a mask assumed to gratify and conciliate his people."

(67) *History of the Punjab* by S. M. Latif, 1891, p. 466.

(68) *Pol. O. C.*, 1 July 1831, No. 42.

(69) The ceremony of the 'Pahul' was as follows:—"The novice, who must have reached the age of discrimination, stands with his hands joined in supplication and repeats after the priest the articles of his faith. Some sugar and water are stirred in a vessel with a double-edged dagger and the water is sprinkled on his face and person; he drinks the remainder and exclaims "Wah Guru" which complete the ceremony. At least five Sikhs must be present at the ceremony one being a priest. Women were sometimes, but not generally initiated after the above formula. "*The Punjab and North-West Frontier of India*" by An Old Punjabi—1878—page 12.

27. To his credit it must be said that after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1809 with the British, Ranjit Singh took every care to abide by its conditions. Though secret agents (70) from different Indian States strained their utmost between the years 1824 and 1826 by offer of large bribes (71) to tempt him to prove false to this treaty he continued true to its terms. The Jats of Bharatpur were so enraged that, according to General Gordon, they sent him women's garments as a mark of their dissatisfaction with his conduct. Again, we find from the papers of the year 1836 (72) that when M. Antoine, who had been in the service of Begum Sombre requested Ranjit Singh "to take him as well as the Begum's band of musicians" and the other Indian Officers of her disbanded troops into his service, he consulted the British Government as "these were affairs connected with the East side of the Sutlej." We also find from the records of this year (73) that agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of 1809, the Maharaja, at the request of the British Government caused the arrest of two notorious *Thugs* who had after murdering a *Subadar* of the British Army entered into his military service at Peshawar in the corps of *Sirdar* Tej Singh under assumed names and sent them to Captain Wade at Ludhiana for punishment.

28. The records (74) of the Imperial Record Department abound with papers which go to show how by means of friendly intercourse with British officials, presents, missions and letters, Ranjit Singh endeavoured to perpetuate his friendship with the English at home, as well as, in India.

29. No papers among the records give more detailed accounts of Ranjit Singh's Court, character, mode of life and pleasures than the letters of Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Adinanagar, who visited the Maharaja at his summer villa at Adinanagar in the year 1831 and thus came in close touch with the Maharaja. In his letters (75) to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Board, dated the 22nd, 25th, and 31st May of that year, he gives graphic accounts which "exhibit the Maharaja in three different situations of state, retirement and at the head of his troops." The following extract from his letter dated the 22nd May 1831, describes very clearly the famous Adinanagar summer-seat:—"Adinanagar,

(70) For. & Pol., Misc., Vol. 206, p. 159. We find from Pol. O. C. 9 May 1838, No. 47, that Nepal's agents used to come to the Court of Ranjit Singh in the disguise of *Faqirs*.

(71) Durjan Sal of Bharatpur offered Ranjit Singh 50 thousand rupees a day besides a large gratuity for the co-operation of his troops on the East of the Sutlej. (For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 159).

(72) Pol. O. C., 2 May 1836, Nos. 57-8.

(73) Pol. O. C., 28 November 1836, No. 19.

(74) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 168; Sec. O. C., 30 April 1833, No. 11; Pol. O. C. 14 Nov. 1836, Nos. 7-9; Govr.-Genl.'s Sec. Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated Kurnul, 19 November 1831, paras. 34-41, etc.

(75) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, Nos. 42-5.

which is near the hills of Nurpur is a town founded by Adina Beg Khan the last of the Muhammadan Governors of Lahore. Ranjit Singh has made it his retreat for some years past in the hot months, having been attracted to the place by the umbrageous groves with which it abounds and the freshness of air, imparted by a canal which pervades them. In the centre of these groves is the Maharaja's residence. The rest are occupied by the *Sirdars* of the Court and beyond them there are encampments of troops on all sides consisting of 'Ghorcheras', (76) his principal camp of infantry of eleven battalions, several brigades of horse artillery and the corps of Messrs. Allard and Court." Osborne, who also visited the Maharaja's country-seat in the year 1838, adds the following to the above description "The garden communicates through a handsome gateway with a fine level plain. A short distance in front of it is the parade-ground, between which and the gateway a small scarlet and gold-embroidered shawl-tent is always pitched. It is entirely open in front and here soon after dark, Ranjit Singh retires to rest, sleeping in the open air and guarded only by a few Sikh *Sipahis*."

30. Another extract from the same letter shews how courteous he was to his visitors. "After arriving at the place fixed for my residence at Adinanagar, I received a *Zyafat* of rupees 5,000 and 101 pots of sweet-meats besides bags of rice, *ghee* and other articles of entertainment.....After a conversation on different subjects for about half an hour, during which he referred several times to the friendship existing between the two States, he called for *Attar* and gave me my dismissal". The following extract (77) from the letter of Shahamut Ali (*Munshi* of Capt. Wade) to Capt. Wade dated, 'Baba Nanak ka Dehra', the 27th October 1837, gives another striking instance of the Maharaja's civility to his visitors. "In the meantime two trays containing some pieces *khilat* were produced. For sometime I was at a loss to know for whom they are intended, but the Maharaja soon removed the doubt by ordering a necklace to be put on my neck, a pair of bangles on my hands and a *jigha* to be tied to my forehead, at the same time directing ten pieces of clothes to be made over to the charge of my own servant. I was absorbed in a deep thought to make out what His Highness meant by giving the *khilat* so unexpectedly, but I soon penetrated into his design that it signified for us to take leave without our representing to him any other case."

31. The following extract from Capt. Wade's letter (78) to H. T. Prinsep, dated the 31st May 1831, gives us a clear picture of Ranjit Singh's daily life at Adinanagar. "In the hot weather the Maharaja goes out about 5 a.m., spends an hour or two in riding and inspecting his troops and then takes the first meal often

(76) The name of one of his 'corps'. Capt. Murray in his Political reports, calls them *Ghorchurs*. (Hugel's *Travels in the Punjab*, p. 327 footnote).

(77) Pol. O. C., 9 May 1838, No. 47.

(78) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 45.

without dismounting from his horse. About 9 a.m. he retires to his residence and holds a Court receiving reports issuing orders to his officers and examining minutely into the financial accounts of his Government himself. At noon he reclines for an hour, having a Secretary by his side to write from his dictation, as different things requiring execution, cross his mind. About 1 p.m. he rises and passes an hour in hearing a portion of the 'Granth' read to him, after which he resumes his court, which lasts till the day begins to close when he either sends for a set of dancing-girls to beguile the time or secludes himself in meditation until his second repast. He goes to bed between 8 and 9 p.m. a Secretary still being in attendance, to whom he frequently dictates his orders in the night. In the cold weather he does not go abroad until near 9 a.m. His habits in other respects are the same with the exception of mounting and promenading his horse in the evening along the parterres of his garden."

32. The social amenities of life were not neglected, Ranjit Singh entertaining his friends on the most lavish scale and caring little for expense or trouble. The archives of the Government of India contain many interesting and amusing accounts of the gaities at Adinanagar, which it is not the purpose of this paper to recount in detail. (79).

33. In the year 1835 he had his first stroke of paralysis. From the letter (80) of Capt. Wade to W. H. Macnaughten, dated Ludhiana, the 23rd August 1835, it appears that "early in the morning of the 17th August, Maharaja was seized with a paralysis of the face, right arm and side which made him lose his speech during the whole day, his countenance became considerably distorted, but on the following day he was comparatively better".

34. Before this attack which shattered his iron constitution, Ranjit Singh, according to the records, (81) "was in excellent health and was in complete possession of that activity of mind and body which had always been the prominent feature of his character". Faqir Azizuddin (82), the

(79) The curious student is referred to the following records for fuller information: Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 43; also *The Journal of Capt. H. G. Osborne*, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, Earl of Auckland, pp. 85-6, 95, 189-92.

(80) Pol. O. C., 14 Sept. 1835, No. 33.

(81) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 42.

(82) Faqir Azizuddin was the Foreign Minister of the Maharaja and a most conspicuous figure of his Court. He was a 'Sufi', a sect to which some best thinkers and poets of the East have belonged. He was a great humorist. When sent on a mission to Lord William Bentinck at Simla in 1831 he was asked by an English officer of which eye the Maharaja was blind. His answer was "The splendour of the Maharaja's face is such that I have never been able to look close enough to discover". On one occasion Ranjit Singh asked him whether he preferred the Hindu or Muhammadan religion. The Faqir's answer was: "I am a man floating in the midst of a mighty river. I turn my eyes towards the land but can distinguish no difference in either bank". He also helped Ranjit Singh in his military career and conquered the Fort of Tibee Lal Bag about 20 miles south of Pakpattan. (For. Mis., Vol. 206, page 109). For a detailed account of his life see Sir Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh* (Rulers of Indian Series), pages 117-22.

Maharaja's devoted and favourite servant, thus speaks (83) of his master's health before the attack:—"His Highness enjoyed unusually good health; he took regular exercise daily, slept well, had an excellent appetite, his functions were natural, in short, he was like a pearl without a flaw or stain of any kind".

35. Dr. W. L. MacGregor, M.D., then in medical charge of the Political Agency of Ludhiana, who went to Amritsar on the 7th September 1835 to attend on Ranjit Singh thus speaks of the immediate cause of the Maharaja's paralytic attack in his letter to Wade, dated Amritsar, the 18th September 1835 (84). It is a very interesting document: "About a month ago the Maharaja retired to rest in a chamber where his body was freely exposed to a free circulation of cool air, the body being at the time in rather a profuse state of perspiration. In the middle of the night he awoke suddenly and found himself unable to move his tongue, so as to articulate and his mouth distorted to a considerable degree. His attendants were alarmed at these symptoms and various remedies, chiefly aromatics, were prescribed by Faqir Azizuddin. By the aid of these, Maharaja was soon able to articulate a little, his general health likewise suffered a visible change. There was a loss of appetite, some heaviness about the head, heat in the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; thirst, frequently urgent and a general despondency and depression of spirits. These symptoms were present when I first saw him on the morning of the 8th instant, though in a less severe degree than they had been. The Maharaja has much aversion to the use of internal medicines; so that I experienced extreme difficulty in treating him. By the regulation of diet and regimen, gentle exercise every morning and occasional laxatives, with the external application of stimulating embrocations he has been daily improving. He now speaks with fluency, his enunciation being correct, full and sonorous, the wryness of his mouth is hardly perceptible to a casual visitor, his general health likewise improves; the thirst is moderate; he sleeps, in general, well; the appetite is still indifferent, there is no sensation of heat in the hands or feet unless his rest be disturbed. Complete recovery is retarded by the use of opium to which the Maharaja has been addicted for a long time and which, at this time of his life, it would not be prudent to withdraw too suddenly". It transpires from the records (85) that on the evening of the 3rd October 1835 Doctor MacGregor "left the Maharaja in a convalescent state and returned to Ludhiana."

36. In the beginning of the year 1837 (86) Ranjit Singh had a second stroke of paralysis on his right side which continued for six months. On this occasion he did not lose the

(83) Pol. O. C., 19 October 1835, No. 44.

(84) *Ibid.*

(85) Pol. O. C., 2 Nov. 1835, No. 55.

(86) Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, No. 10.

power of speech. The joint opinions of Dr. D. MacLeod and Dr. A. Wood on the Maharaja's health as embodied in the paper dated the 15th March, 1837, will be found in the Political O. C., 22 May, 1837, No. 74 A.

37. Misfortunes followed thick and fast. A year after his second stroke of paralysis, his favourite wife, the mother of Kharak Singh, whom he endearingly called by the name of 'nakahun' (87)—she being a daughter of the family of 'Nakkai' Chiefs—breathed her last on the 20th July 1838. Scarcely a week had elapsed when his own life was seriously threatened by the attack of a mad elephant. Let the records (88) tell the story of these two events:—"On the 20th July 1838, Raja Dhiyan Singh reported the demise of Kunwar Kharak Singh's mother occasioned by headache and pains in her sides. The Maharaja was greatly afflicted on hearing the intelligence and ordered several courtiers to proceed to the house of 'Nakahun' with 3,000 rupees, 200 ducats as well as two pieces of silk, besides a quantity of sandal and other articles to assist Kharak Singh in performing the funeral rites and to see the corpse burnt in his garden situated to the north of Anarkali". The following extract describes his encounter with the mad elephant:—"His Highness on the morning of the 24th July 1838 went out as usual for an airing. He was riding in a *Khasa* (a kind of litter) along with Jawahir Singh, the brother of Raja Hira Singh. On his way when he reached to the streamlet, opposite to the fort, he was attacked by a furious elephant which had been taken out for forage. The bearers of the *Khasa* being alarmed, dropped the *Khasa* on the spot and ran off to a distance, the orderly *sowars* spread themselves also here and there and the *Khasa* wherein the Maharaja sat was entirely left alone. The elephant soon broke some of the glasses of it and the Maharaja shrank into one of its corners. Sirdar Atar Singh who observed what was passing, came forward and gave the animal a cut on his trunk with his sword. On receiving the wound the elephant took to flight in another direction. The Maharaja then offered thanksgiving to the Almighty for having had such a providential escape and at the same time observed to Raja Dhiyan Singh that he was saved alone by the grace of God, otherwise, his life had been lost. Five thousand rupees were ordered to be distributed in charity to the poor on the occasion of the Maharaja's safety."

38. His third paralytic stroke was in the month of December 1838 (89) and this ended his great career. It was greatly due to his excesses during Lord Auckland's visit to him at Ferozepur in that year. On this occasion the Maharaja placed himself under

(87) Pol. O. C., 9 Jan. 1839, No. 29.

(88) Pol. O. C., 9 Jan. 1839, No. 29. (*Vide Abstract of Intelligence from Lahore*, dated from the 20th to the 24th July 1838).

(89) Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, No. 10.

the treatment of Dr. J. Steele who was in that year on special duty at Ferozepur. This Doctor on reaching Lahore on the morning of the 21st April 1839 found the Maharaja in a most unhealthy house. No reason can be traced from the records as to why the afflicted Maharaja was living in that house when he could have used his magnificent palaces at Lahore, Cashmere, Multan and Adinanagar. Dr. Steele thus graphically describes the wretched state of the house:—(90) "His house is situated close on the edge of a filthy canal from which the roads are constantly wetted and the surrounding grounds kept in a swampy state. It is in an atmosphere sufficient to create disease among the most healthy. He sleeps in a small tent adjoining which (within 10 yards) there is a small patch of rice cultivation. This is constantly under water. I need not say that the smell arising from the damp earth and confined air is anything but pleasant. The house consists of two small rooms, in each room there is but one door communicating with the open air and the door of the larger room is only about 3 feet by 2½. This room is kept dark to which he retires during the heat of the day. It will be observed that the fresh air cannot circulate in these rooms and in addition to the constant unpleasant exhalation from the damp floor and walls, the rooms are constantly crowded with his followers". At the doctor's suggestion the Maharaja was removed (91) to a healthier abode on the 9th May 1839.

39. Doctor Steele carefully examined the Maharaja from the 22nd April to 2nd May 1838 and his report on the Maharaja's health is embodied in the Sec. O. C. 7th August 1839 No. 10. The concluding portion of the Doctor's report runs thus:—"Is the Maharaja likely to live long? I think 'not long.' He is in that state that the least unfavourable accidental occurrence in the form of disease may be decisive and likely to be so. He may live for a short time, perhaps for a few months or even a year, but the latter period, I think, improbable, although I consider that he has still some remaining energy and the natural powers of his constitution to be great and his rallying powers, from what I have heard, to be extraordinary."

40. Within two months of the report of Doctor Steele, Ranjit Singh passed away peacefully at Lahore on the evening of the 27th June 1839 (92), 'retaining his mental faculties unimpaired to the last.' It appears from the records that "to avoid the sudden effect on his troops and the population, the news of the Maharaja's death was at first attempted to be kept secret."

41. "During the few last days of his illness" the documents say "prayers were said and offerings were sent to the different shrines for his recovery, and His Highness bestowed in charity—money, jewels and other property to the value of nearly 50 lakhs of rupees (93). Among his jewels,

(90) Sec. O. C., 7 August 1839, No. 10.

(91) *Ibid.*

(92) Sec. O. C., 4 December 1839, No. 78.

(93) Sec. O. C., 4 December 1839, No. 78.

he directed the well-known Kohinoor (94) to be sent to the temple of Jagannath at Puri, muttering at the same time the great truth that "no one carried with him his worldly wealth and that such a bequest would perpetuate my name."

42. The scene that took place in the *harem* after the death of the Maharaja is thus described by the *Punjabi Akhbar* (95) of the 27th June 1839:—"The death of the Maharaja being known, the Ranees (queens), Kunwar Kharak Singh (the Maharaja's son), Raja Dhiyan Singh (the Maharaja's Prime Minister), Jemadar Khusal Singh and others raised their cries and lamentations, tearing their hair, casting earth on their heads, throwing themselves on the ground and striking their heads against bricks and stones. This continued during the night by the side of the corpse. Every now and then looking towards the corpse their shrieks were shriller. The gates of the Fort were shut but Kunwar Kharak Singh ordered the shops in the city to be opened and business to be carried on." We find, however, that "the people had closed their shops and had shewn every mark of grief at the death of their chief" (96).

43. In the *Akhbar* of the 28th June, 1839 and in some other documents the following account of the funeral ceremony is given:—The Maharaja's body having been bathed with the Ganges waters, dressed in rich clothes and decorated with ornaments was placed on an adorned sandalwood bier (*bawan*) in shape like a ship. It was wrought with gold and the sails and flags were made of the richest silk. The bier was carried by a number of men in procession in the garden at Dhoolkote situated in the Fort, near the Huzuri gate, adjoining to Gooroo Argin's residence. Several notable men of the kingdom threw costly shawls on the bier. Rani Koondun (commonly known as Rani "Gadun" or "Guddhun"), daughter of Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch, Rani Hurderee, daughter of the Raja of Nurpur, Rani Raj Kour, daughter of *Sirdar* Jai Singh of Chynpur—about 7 miles from Amritsar and Rani Baawalee (*sic*) came out of the harem and approached the corpse and resolved to burn themselves with their husband. For the first time during their lives these Ranis came out unveiled with richest apparel and jewels worth many *lakhs* of rupees on their person and accompanied the procession bestowing every now and then some portion of their jewels and ornaments to the singers and the Brahmins. In front of each Rani, at a distance of two or three paces, walked a man with his face turned towards her and moving backwards. He held a mirror before the Rani in front of whom he walked, that she might see that her features were unaltered and that her resolution to sacrifice her life had no effect on her appearance. After the Ranis followed seven slave-girls. All seemed quite indifferent to the awful fate which awaited them, and which, indeed, they had themselves sought.

(94) *Ibid*; but Misser Beli Ram who was in charge of the Treasury, objected to its delivery on the ground of its being "State" property.

(95) *Pol. O. C.*, 24 July 1839, Nos. 13-14; See also, *Sec. O. C.*, 4 December 1839, Nos. 78-9.

(96) *Sec. O. C.*, 4 December 1839, No. 78 (para. 9).

44. The drums beat mournfully, the musicians sang melancholy dirges and the sound of their instruments spread gloom throughout the whole assembly. At last the bier reached the funeral pile. It was constructed of sandal-wood and aloe in the form of square, six feet high. The ascent to the pile was by means of a ladder. On the pile were strewed inflammable substances, such as cotton seeds, etc. The high officers of the State first ascended the pile and helped in gently removing the royal body from the bier and respectfully placing it in the middle of the pile. Rani Koondun sat down by the side of the corpse and placed the head of the deceased on her lap while the other 3 Ranis with seven slave-girls seated themselves around with every mark of complacency on their countenances. Raja Dhiyan Singh prepared to burn himself with the Maharaja, and it was with very great difficulty that he was persuaded to refrain from sharing the fate of the *Satees*. Thereupon the Raja proposed to leave the world and go to Benares after a year, which was complied with. Kunwar Kharak Singh also did his utmost to dissuade the *Satees* to relinquish their intention but they did not heed the appeals of the Kunwar nor of the other Chiefs. Rani Koondun taking Raja Dhiyan Singh by the hand and placing it on the breast of the corpse made him swear never to be a traitor to Kunwar Kharak Singh. Kharak Singh was, in like manner, made to swear to be led away by no misrepresentations of interested parties to renounce Raja Dhiyan Singh; and the torment due for the slaughter of a thousand kine were imprecated on him who should violate his oath.

45. At 10 o'clock approaching, the time fixed by the Brahmins, fire was set to each corner of the funeral pile (97). In a moment the whole mass was a complete blaze, the flames of which ascended to a prodigious height. As the flames shot up, the faces of these devoted women, still calm and serene, were visible for the last time. A moment so and smoke and fire enveloped them. In a little while the sacrifice was consummated—the great Maharaja, his four wives and seven slave-girls were a holocaust. A small cloud appeared in the sky over the burning pile and having shed a few drops passed away. Raja Dhiyan Singh attempted four times to jump into the burning pile but was withheld by the mourning crowd. After the ceremony was over, Kunwar Kharak Singh and other chiefs bathed themselves in the Ravi and returned to the Huzuri Garden.* Fifteen pairs of *shawls* and 20 *ducats* were given to the singers of the holy hymns of Baba Nanak and a thousand rupees were distributed among the poor.

Affliction of Raja
Dhiyan Singh.

(97) Capt. Osborne in his *Journal* says that the Chief Rani herself set fire to the pile; but Syad Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab* says that it was the Maharaja's son, Kharak Singh.

* Near this garden stands Ranjit Singh's mausoleum, a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan ideas, being a compromise between a *Hindu Samadh* and a Muhammadan tomb. In the centre is a raised stone platform on which is a marble lotus flower, surrounded by eleven smaller ones. The centre flower covers some ashes of the Maharaja, the others those of four wives and seven slave girls who perished on his funeral pyre.

46. The huge pile continued to smoulder for two days. On the third day the bones and ashes of the dead were picked out by the members of the royal household and were put in separate urns. Preparations were then made to send them to the Ganges at Hurdwar. The remains of the Maharaja and those of the four *Ranis* were placed in different decorated palanquins to be conveyed by the guards to their final destination. As the procession passed the head-quarters of the districts in British territory, due military honours were paid to his ashes (98). We find in the letter (99) of H. Torrens, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, to the Deputy Collector of Customs of Shaharanpore, dated Simla, the 4th July 1839, that the Government issued strict orders "to all the officers of Customs forbidding their interfering in any way with the Sikh priests, *Sirdars* and others who would cross the British frontier with the ashes of the late Maharaja". Records (100) further enlighten us that the palanquin containing the remains of the Maharaja passed through Ludhiana after crossing the Sutlej on the 11th July 1839 and that Mr. M. P. Edgeworth, Assistant Political Agent of that place, laid two pairs of *sharvels* valued at Rs. 475 (101) on the conveyance as a mark of respect.

47. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, also lost no time in shewing due honour to the memory of the late Maharaja. The following General Order, dated Simla (Political Department) the 4th July 1839 (102) was issued:—"The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General having this day received from the Offg. Political Agent at Loodhiana official announcement of the melancholy intelligence of the demise of His Highness Maharaja Runjeet Singh, Ruler of the Punjab on the 27th ultimo is pleased in testimony of his deep regret for the loss of this faithful and highly valued Ally of the British Government to direct that minute guns to the number of 60 corresponding with the years of the deceased be fired from the ramparts of the Forts of Delhi, Agra and Allahabad, and at all the principal stations of the army throughout the North-Western Provinces. The ceremony will be also observed at the Frontier stations of Ludhiana and Ferozepore." A mission of condolence was also sent (103) to Kharak Singh at Lahore "consisting of the Offg. Political Agent at Ludhiana and some officers of his personal staff".

48. So lived and died the "Lion of the Punjab". "It was his extraordinary talent alone" says Marshman, "which reared the edifice of Sikh greatness and if it had not been hemmed in by the irresistible power of the East India Company would undoubtedly have established a new and magnificent empire in Hindoosthan. By indefatigable exertions he succeeded in

(98) Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 34.

(99) Pol. O. C., 4 Sept. 1839, No. 79.

(100) Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 34.

(101) Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 36.

(102) Pol. O. C., 11 Sept. 1839, No. 96.

(103) Sec. O. C., 4 Dec. 1839, No. 80.

creating an army 80,000 (104) strong with 300 (105) pieces of cannon, superior in discipline, valour and equipment to any force which had ever been seen in India under Native colours." When he died the Sikh power in India was at its zenith and " then it exploded " says General Sir J. H. Gordon " disappearing in fierce but fading flames."

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

(104) Ranjit Singh's army was composed of :—

(1) The French legion, clothed and exercised in the European manner ...	8,000 men.
(2) <i>Gorchelis</i> and <i>Gorcher Khas</i> , Cavalry armed with muskets, wearing armour, and paid either in money or lands ...	4,000 „
(3) Disciplined battalions ...	14,940 „
(4) Cavalry in various fortresses ...	3,000 „
(5) Infantry <i>Pultuns</i> (Regiments), equipped variously ...	23,950 „
(6) Contingent of the <i>Sirdars</i> in Cavalry ...	27,014 „
	<hr/> 80,904 men.

To this 34,014 horses and 101 elephants may be added.

For further information on this subject the reader is referred to Persian MS. No. 622 of the Khuda Bukhsh Library at Bankipur.

(105) According to Captain Murray the number of cannons were 376 besides 370 *Jinjals* or long pieces of ordinance which used to be carried by camels. For fuller details see Pol. O. C., 14 Feb. 1838, Nos. 57-8.

Causerie Sur L'histoire de Chandernagor

faite le 14 Mai 1925

à la Société Littéraire de Calcutta.

IL y a un peu plus d'un mois, dans le salon de la Résidence de Chandernagor, j'avais le grand plaisir d'entretenir de l'Histoire de la petite dépendance française du Bengale un auditoire attentif et bienveillant.

On m'a prié de refaire ici cette petite causerie.

C'est lui faire en vérité beaucoup trop d'honneur et j'en éprouverais, même, quelque confusion si, cet honneur, je ne le reportais tout entier sur le petit territoire qui rappelle aux uns la Patrie lointaine, aux autres pays dont ils ont apprécié la culture et dont ils parlent la langue avec une pureté dont les Français ne peuvent manquer d'être profondément flattés.

Profitant d'un jour de liberté, un groupe de sociétaires a donc visité Chandernagor; la visite a brève, trop brève pour moi, si fier de la recevoir.

Ils venaient, mes visiteurs, rechercher des vestiges du passé, évoquer des souvenirs dont le charme vieillot contraste avec la vie hâtive et bruyante de la grande cité voisine; c'était plus un pèlerinage qu'un déplacement de touristes curieux et, dans son vieux logis solitaire et un peu triste, l'Administrateur leur a, je crois bien, semblé d'un ermite retiré du monde, un ermite dont la grâce souriante des visiteuses, et la cordialité charmante des visiteurs de ce lundi de Pâques très ensoleillé, a singulièrement troublé la fragile vocation—grâce leur en soit rendue et aux hôtes charmants qui me procurent ce soir le plaisir de retrouver ceux qui ont apporté dans ma maison un rayon de gaieté dont elle reste encore illuminée.

De souvenirs de la grande époque, on retrouve en vérité peu de traces dans notre petite ville—le temps, les luttes entre rivaux ont fait leur oeuvre. Une petite histoire reste à écrire, celle des vieilles maisons qui restent encore, celle de Chevalier notamment. Je m'étais promis de fouiller, dans ce but, les archives locales, le temps m'a manqué pour cela et je ne le regretterai jamais plus qu'aujourd'hui.

Mais, il est certain que le calme de certaines de nos rues se prête à un retour sur le passé.

On y verrait sans trop d'étonnement apparaître le tricorne des officiers du Bien-aimé (1), les vieilles gens y sont polies, discrètes comme au temps jadis—Sur l'Hoogly, bordé de jolies demeures, les péniches ressemblent à s'y méprendre à celles des vieilles gravures d'antan, et, les singulières petites

(1) Surnom donné au Roi Louis XV.

voiles roses qui profilent leurs silhouettes gracieuses sur l'horizon mauve et violet de Chinsurah au soleil couchant, pourraient bien être celles de la Compagnie des Indes.

Vous n'avez pu contempler les effets du soleil couchant sur l'Hoogly—c'est un enchantement que n'arrivent pas à gâter les tuyaux d'usine, les murs blancs implacables les estacades en fer de la rive gauche.

Et le Square Dupleix où viennent jouer les petites pensionnaires du Couvent dont la vieille petite chapelle évoque l'époque de la prospérité et de la gloire, la place minuscule, la rue ombragée qui mène à l'église, l'église elle-même, la mairie, le Collège Dupleix, tout cela constitue un ensemble si discret, si paisible, si français même, qu'on serait tenté d'y retrouver, sous le clair soleil du Bengale, un coin d'une de ces petites villes où il vous a plu de vous arrêter au cours d'une randonnée d'auto.

Le Quai Dupleix bordé de vieux hôtels aux murs grisâtres, mais à l'aspect plein de dignité, manque d'ampleur, mais non de charmes et l'on peut penser à son aise sur ses bancs verts qui regardent la puissante cité industrielle de la rive opposée, bruyante, active, toutes cheminées fumantes et dont les mille lumières se reflètent le soir dans l'Hoogly noir.

Quand on s'enfonce dans la ville indienne, on découvre des rues silencieuses, bordées d'imposantes demeures marquées de la patine du temps—quelques jolies maisons modernes, des villas délabrées au milieu de jardins touffus, peu de clinquant beaucoup de grisaille, comme il convient à une vieille petite ville arrêtée dans sa croissance.

Car, depuis un siècle et demi, Chandernagor a renoncé à la comparaison avec sa grande voisine dont elle admire le prodigieux essor—C'est maintenant une très vieille dame, au costume suranné qui raconte ses jeunes années; elle est née sous le Grand Roi, dont l'arrière petit fils et successeur eût pour elle quelques sourires; puis on l'oublia vite, tant d'autres graves préoccupations assiégeaient les dirigeants pendant cette époque troublée. Cet oubli lui fût funeste, elle ne s'en releva jamais.

Les aimables radotages de la vieille dame sont imprimés dans de gros livres très savants. Avec respect, j'en ai feuilleté quelques uns.

Peut être certains d'entre vous en ont ils fait de même et je crains d'arriver bien tard dans un terrain très battu où il reste peu de choses à glaner.

Aussi bien n'ai-je pas l'intention de vous instruire, en chevauchant mon nez des savantes besicles de l'historien. Je n'y parviendrais guère.

Je me propose seulement de remuer quelques souvenirs et de rappeler brièvement le rôle joué par notre petite ville dans l'histoire de l'Inde au XVIIIème siècle.

Le mérite des hommes qui ont écrit cette histoire fut très grand, car leur tâche fût rude et ingrate.

Aujourd'hui que l'ère des luttes est passée, que notre activité colonisatrice s'est portée sur d'autres points du monde, nous pouvons, sans aucune rancœur, revenir sur le passé et relire ensemble, entre rivaux, des

pages qui furent glorieuses et où chacun des nôtres, anglais et français, lutta avec tant de tenacité et de foi pour la grandeur de son pays.

La date de la fondation de Chandernagor demeure incertaine. Les noms de Boro, Gondolparah, Kolchini qui sont aujourd'hui ceux des quartiers de la ville figurent dans des écrits fort anciens, mais il paraît établi qu'avant le XVII^e siècle, le nom de Chandernagor ne figurait dans aucun d'entre eux, le groupement de ces divers villages sous leur dénomination actuelle datant semble-t-il de l'occupation française.

On a voulu voir dans la forme même de la ville, comparée à celle d'un croissant de lune (*Chandra*) l'origine de l'appellation, d'autres auteurs indiens ont affirmé que le lieu où est installé notre petite ville était célèbre par l'existence de forêts de santal dont le préfixe " Chander " ne serait qu'une corruption.

Quoiqu'il en soit, un notable Hindou de Chandernagor qui consacre une partie de son temps et de sa grosse fortune à l'étude de l'histoire et à l'amélioration de sa cité natale affirme posséder la preuve que le nom a été donné par les Français, probablement par Deslandes, le véritable fondateur du Comptoir.

Le même auteur s'étonne, d'ailleurs, qu'on ne fasse pas une part plus grande au rôle de Duplessis qui, en 1674, a entamé et fait aboutir les négociations avec le Représentant de l'Empereur Mogol. En réalité, le Firman du Grand Mogol concédant le territoire n'a été notifié qu'en 1693. Duplessis était un simple officier sur un bateau du Roy; pour Deslandes il fut le collaborateur intime, puis le gendre de François Martin, fondateur de Pondichéry; il vint à Chandernagor pour y asseoir notre première installation dans le Bengale, il est naturel que son nom ait éclipsé celui du modeste officier venu en négociateur avant lui, mais qui n'a rien créé.

Souffrez, d'autre part, que je garde un faible pour Deslandes qui est un de mes compatriotes—I! est, en effet, né à Tours en 1640—I! est juste d'ajouter que le nom de Duplessis a lui-même un parfum de terroir tourangeau qui éveille le souvenir du plus astucieux de nos Rois, Louis XI, le Chatelain de Plessis les Tours, Me sera-t-il permis aussi de rappeler que Dupleix, le grand Dupleix, né par hasard à Landrecies, dans le Nord de la France avait toute sa famille en Poitou à Chatellerault à quelques kilomètres de Tours.

La venue dans ces pays lointains de français de nos vieilles provinces que l'esprit d'aventure n'aurait pas dû animer au même point que ceux des côtes dont les fenêtres s'ouvraient sur l'immensité de la mer n'est elle pas une preuve de l'intérêt qu'apportaient nos ancêtres, même les plus terriens, à la colonisation lointaine.

On trouve dans une lettre particulière écrite, par François Martin, de Pondichéry, aux Directeurs de la Compagnie, l'indication très nette de l'importance attribuée au nouvel établissement du Bengale " le négoce du Bengale, est un négoce riche par les soies, les étoffes de soie, les étoffes fines que vous pourrez en tirer. Ces marchandises n'occuperont pas beaucoup

de place dans vos vaisseaux; cette remarque est importante afin de conformer le port des navires au capital que vous y chargerez et avoir égard à la qualité des marchandises que vous donnerez ordre de vous envoyer.....".

Mais c'est l'entreprise du Siam qui reste encore dans le golfe du Bengale la grande affaire du moment, c'est dans ce pays qu'opérera d'abord Deslandes, sous la haute autorité de son beau-père.

On se consacrera plus particulièrement au Bengale lors que les tentatives sur le Siam, d'abord très encourageantes, auront causé, dans la suite, quelques désillusions.

Il faut considérer l'arrivée, en Septembre 1688, de Deslandes, sur le "Saint Nicolas" comme la première tentative sérieuse d'installation des Français dans le Bengale.

Les débuts furent d'ailleurs très favorables et Deslandes regrettait que le manque de fonds ne lui permit pas de faire davantage.

De Hooghly où il s'était d'abord installé, Deslandes avait envoyé des agents créer les loges de Dacca et de Cassimbazar et il avait consolidé son installation à Balassor où l'on prenait des pilotes pour remonter le Gange.

Mais il ne pouvait conserver son centre d'opération dans un établissement étranger; il songea alors à revendiquer la possession du terrain acheté par Duplessis en 1674 à quelques distances d'Hoogly.

En Avril 1690, on commença la construction des murs de clôture, de bâtiments et de magasins dont le Père Jésuite Duchetz, aumônier, fût l'architecte et pour lesquelles une dépense de 26000 roupies était jugée nécessaire—on construisait à peu de frais dans ce temps là.

En Juillet 1692, les travaux étaient en partie achevés. Pour la première fois, dans un mémoire adressé par Martin, Deslandes et Pellé aux Directeurs de la Compagnie, le nom de Chandernagor remplace celui d'Hoogly par lequel on avait l'habitude de désigner notre principal établissement du Bengale.

Il m'est impossible d'entrer dans le détail des démêlés des agents de la Compagnie française avec ses voisins et rivaux.

La France était en guerre avec la Hollande que les armées de Louis XIV avait envahie et l'action des Français était naturellement entravée par les Hollandais, maîtres du Golfe du Bengale que nos bateaux ne fréquentaient que par intermittance.

Parfois, une victoire navale rendait quelque sécurité que venait ensuite compromettre une nouvelle incursion ennemie.

Les bateaux de la Compagnie profitaient d'une éclaircie favorable pour descendre ou remonter le Gange. Après la prise de Pondichéry par les Hollandais en Septembre 1693, Martin qui s'était retiré à Batavia s'embarque le 13 Novembre sur une flute (1) avec sa femme et sa petite fille et, après bien des avatars, arrive enfin à Chandernagor où il retrouve son gendre Deslandes.

(1) Petit bateau.

Chandernagor devient alors le centre de l'action française dans l'Inde et Martin dont l'énergie n'est pas abattue par les échecs ne cesse d'appeler l'attention du Gouvernement de Versailles sur la nécessité de continuer la lutte.

Malheureusement, les guerres d'Europe où le Roi est de plus en plus entraîné par le jeu des coalitions font que les interventions sont insuffisantes, à longs intervalles et partant stériles.

Les établissements du Bengale, encombrés de marchandises qu'ils écoulent difficilement en raison de l'insécurité des mers souvent bloquées par les flottes ennemies, ont une existence précaire. Néanmoins, on vitote ainsi jusqu'à la signature de la paix et Martin et Deslandes réussissent quand même à maintenir leur situation même dans les établissements secondaires de la Compagnie.

Leurs difficultés n'étaient pas d'ailleurs dues uniquement à la rivalité causée par les guerres européennes, mais aussi à l'anarchie régnant dans l'empire Mogol.

En 1695, plusieurs rajahs se soulèvent contre l'Empereur. Hoogly est cernée par les rebelles.

On devine dans quelle situation se trouvaient les étrangers au milieu de ces luttes intestines.

Le Directeur de l'établissement hollandais lui-même s'en émeut, il propose une action commune pour la défense de la neutralité des européens. Le projet n'a pas de suite pratique et chacun prend ses précautions et fortifie ses comptoirs.

C'est l'origine des ouvrages qui sont devenus, dans la suite, la défense de Chandernagor.

En 1697, Candernagor avait l'aspect d'une petite forteresse, on devait faire des sorties, repousser les pillards à coups de canons, nos commerçants pacifiques avaient quitté leurs livres de caisses pour se transformer en guerriers, rôle qui leur convenait assurément fort peu, mais qu'ils remplissaient, néanmoins, avec bravoure, les écrits du temps en font foi.

D'autre part, Martin négocie avec le grand Mogol, lui fait des visites, des présents—mais l'autorité de l'empereur perd du terrain, l'empire est à son déclin et la mort d'Aurengzeb et les rivalités de ses fils précipitera la chute.

En 1697, à la suite de la paix victorieuse de Ryswick, Pondichéry est rendu à la France; une flotte vient dans le Bengale chercher Martin pour le conduire et reprendre pied dans cette ville, notre situation dans l'Inde se trouve affermie.

On signale des opérations commerciales particulièrement heureuses, mais Deslandes se plaint des difficultés qu'il éprouve à se procurer des marchandises—les luttes, les excès des rebelles ont dispersé les tisserands, beaucoup sont morts—cependant, Chandernagor reste encore le plus gros centre d'approvisionnement de Pondichéry.

Le 1er Janvier 1701, celui qui avait créé la ville, qui avait maintenu cette occupation pendant toute la période difficile dont je viens de parler,

Deslandes rentrait en France après un long et laborieux séjour dans le Bengale. Il avait la satisfaction de laisser tout en ordre, la situation rétablie, les comptoirs en activité.

Il remettait le commandement à Du Livier, son second, le conseil se composait pour le Bengale, de Pellé, Chef de Balassore et de Regnaut, le plus ancien marchand.

Il avait passé douze ans à Chandernagor et vingt ans dans l'Inde et au Siam. Avec Martin, le Fondateur de Pondichéry, c'est la figure la plus intéressante des débuts de notre occupation dans l'Inde. Le Gouvernement royal reconnût ses services en l'anoblissant et en lui confiant d'importantes fonctions à Saint-Domingue. Il mourut en 1707.

La reprise de l'état de guerre rendit encore une fois difficile notre situation dans le Bengale, le blocus du Gange par les Hollandais ayant repris.

A la mort de Martin survenue en 1708, Du Livier quitta Chandernagor pour le remplacer à Pondichéry, il était resté sept ans dans le Bengale, sept années à peu près tranquilles d'ailleurs et relativement prospères.

Je passe sur les années qui suivirent pour arriver tout de suite à la période marquée par la grande figure qui jette sur Chandernagor une figure fulgurante. Le 8 Août 1731, Dupleix arrivait à Chandernagor sur le " Saint Pierre ".

Il y restera jusqu'en 1742 et, le moins qu'on puisse dire, est que jamais cette ville ne connût une période de plus grande activité et de plus grande richesse que sous sa direction.

On a porté sur Dupleix des jugements divers, ceux de beaucoup de ses compatriotes ont été souvent défavorables, son caractère dominateur, sa personnalité accusée et son orgueil lui ayant attiré de nombreuses animosités dont on retrouve la trace dans sa volumineuses correspondance avec la Compagnie.

Ses démêlés avec l'Administration de Pondichéry, avec les Directeurs de la Compagnie eux-mêmes qui n'étaient pas épargnés sont restés fameux.

Très appuyé à Paris par sa famille, riche lui-même ce qui ne l'empêchait pas d'ailleurs d'être très chatouilleux sur les questions d'intérêt pécuniaire, il se permettait toutes les critiques et les attaques les plus violentes contre ses rivaux.

Parti de France au début du XVIII^{ème} siècle, il avait vécu en dehors de la société légère et spirituelle née sous la régence et qui a caractérisé le règne de Louis XV, il n'avait rien du " talon rouge " (1), ni du " roué " (2). C'était un homme austère et sans gaîté, dont l'intelligence solide n'était ni gracieuse, ni aimable.

Ce n'était pas non plus un sentimental—son mariage contracté à un âge relativement avancé, fut sans doute un mariage de raison et la froide raison et le bon sens furent certainement les seules règles de sa vie.

On peut dire qu'il a vécu en dehors de son siècle et ce n'est pas, sans

(1). (2) Termes employés pour désigner les courtisans du Régent Philippe d'Orléans detenant le pouvoir pendant la minorité de Louis XV.

nul doute, une des moindres causes de ses échecs la plupart de ses contemporains ne l'ayant pas compris et lui-même n'ayant pas compris la transformation qui s'était opérée dans l'état social de son pays.

Le temps a eu vite fait de rétablir à son véritable niveau la mémoire de celui qui, en dépit de certaines erreurs, fut un très grand colonisateur et un très grand français.

Le nouveau Directeur des établissements français du Bengale était jeune (trente quatre ans), son ambition était grande et tout le monde, même ses ennemis, semblait s'accorder à la trouver légitime. Néanmoins, il dût attendre longtemps le poste ambitionné de Directeur Général des établissements de l'Inde qu'il n'obtint que douze ans plus tard en 1734.

Ne vous attendez pas à trouver, dans les papiers de Chandernagor, les récits d'actions d'éclat accomplies par Dupleix, on faisait surtout des affaires, ne l'oubliez pas, à Pondichéry, notre grand marchand se fit soldat, développa largement son programme ambitieux, ici, il fut seulement négociateur et négociateur habile—on cherchait à se procurer des influences dans les milieux indiens, on manœuvrait dans un dédale d'intrigues où chaque nation s'efforçait de jouer son rôle; les Hollandais qui furent longtemps les plus riches et les plus puissants et dont la puissance commençait à décliner, les Anglais qui, disposant de ressources considérables et ayant à leur tête des hommes de la plus grande valeur, comme Clive, prenant déjà une place prépondérante.

Mais, il convient de le noter, en dépit de petits incidents inévitables et sans gravité, les agents des diverses nations entretenaient encore les meilleures relations. La guerre qui éclata à nouveau en 1713 ne semble pas avoir troublé cette harmonie, on voisinait, des amitiés se liaient, Stackhouse était alors Gouverneur de Calcutta, en 1732, il lui arrive de s'associer avec Dupleix en divers armements et la plus parfaite loyauté mutuelle semblait présider à ces opérations profitables pour les uns et les autres.

On a retrouvé une lettre dans laquelle Dupleix annonçait l'envoi des caisses de liqueurs, les bons vins de France consommés ensemble contribuaient à la bonne harmonie, on se brouille rarement après un bon repas, et les relations se maintinrent ainsi jusqu'au moment où la politique des peuples vint à dominer celle des individus et où la rupture se produisit.

En ce qui concerne les Hollandais, ces relations restèrent également amicales, malgré un incident qui faillit tout gâter et qui se produisit au cours d'une visite de Dupleix à Chinsurah, entre un de ses officiers nommé Le Gâtinais et un français au service des Hollandais. Dupleix prétendait se faire livrer celui-ci, ses voisins s'y refusaient—on finit par s'entendre, mais non sans peine.

Bien qu'il évitât toute dépense somptuaire et fût très ménager des deniers de la Compagnie, Dupleix faisait cependant des améliorations dans la ville, créait un hôpital, construisait des magasins, des casernes pour sa petite garnison.

Il habitait ui-même, une maison en briques très modeste, au coin de l'actuelle rue de Bénarès et de la rue appelée encore aujourd'hui Rue des Grands Escaliers—Il a vécu aussi dans une maison en face du Tribunal actuel sur l'emplacement de l'Hôtel Carlton.

A quelques distances de Chandernagor, il possédait aussi une maison de campagne qu'il estimait l'une des plus belles de l'Inde, surtout disait-il " par sa situation gracieuse " et où il avait coutume de recevoir les Anglais de Calcutta avec lesquels il était en relations d'affaires.

Certains auteurs supposent qu'il s'agit déjà de Goretty qui, sous ses successeurs, sous Chevalier particulièrement, devait être célèbre par les réceptions brillantes qui s'y donnaient.

Ganger de l'argent, faire des affaires, tel semble avoir été le grande préoccupation de Dupleix, pendant cette première partie de son existence; il manifesta cependant du goût pour les bibelots et les curiosités locales, de belles agathes, des boutons ou poignées de cannes, des ouvrages en ivoire, des médailles, il s'intéressait dans une de ses lettres à un missionnaire de ses amis à des monnaies du Népaul.

Agissait-il en collectionneur ou en spéculateur? On ne saurait trop le dire, mais il voulait, disait-il " tout de bon goût et rien de commun " On n'est pas ambitieux et désireux de parvenir, sans épouwer le besoin de soigner ses relations. Le goût du bibelot était très répandu en France déjà à cette époque—les hauts fonctionnaires de la Compagnie n'étaient pas insensibles à l'envoi d'une de ces pièces indiennes très à la mode à l'époque.

Mais Dupleix, par contre, était peu curieux des monuments que tout européen se hâte de visiter, il est possible qu'il n'ait jamais vu ni Agra, ni Benarès. Je vous l'ai dit, c'était un marchand, un politique, un homme de sens pratique, sans aucun penchant à l'exotisme.

Il eut très vite fait d'éveiller Chandernagor de sa médiocrité. Les déconvenues ne lui manquèrent cependant pas, de temps en temps un bateau perdu corps et biens, on recommençait, on luttait.

Je vous épargnerai le récit de ces luttes, non plus que des démêlés de Dupleix avec la Compagnie, avec Dumas (Directeur à Pondichéry) qu'il n'aimait pas et auquel il ne le cachait guère, avec ses voisins, avec le Mogol et ses officiers. Tout était occasion de conflits et il faut convenir que le caractère de notre personnage n'aidait pas toujours à leur solution.

En 1741, un évènement survient dans la vie de Dupleix, il épouse à 44 ans la veuve de son ami Vincens qui en avait 34.

Madame Vincens avait eu 12 enfants dont cinq seulement vivaient encore et une seule (une fille) était mariée à Madras.

Sans être pauvre, elle n'était pas riche et en l'épousant il prenait à son compte de lourds charges.

Il ne faisait en somme que rendre plus légitime la protection qu'il s'était engagé à exercer sur la famille du disparu qui était son ami.

On sait le rôle que joua Madame Dupleix sur la fortune de son mari qu'elle aida puissamment dans sa tâche.

A son frère qui en France s'effrayait de ce mariage avec une inconnue, indigne peut être de porter le nom de Dupleix, un contemporain écrivait

“ que sa belle-soeur était charmante qu’ elle se faisait généralement aimer qu’elle était douce et de beaucoup d’esprit et qu’elle pouvait être mise au rang de ce qu’il y avait de mieux ” le frère fut, semble-t-il rassuré et dans la suite put constater qu’on ne lui avait pas trop vanté les qualités de sa belle-soeur.

Aux côtés de Dupleix, elle allait faire montrer à Pondichéry de plus brillantes qualités. Le 14 Janvier 1742, Dupleix réalisait enfin son plus cher désir, il devenait Directeur Général à Pondichery en remplacement de Dumas rentré en France.

Les onze années de présence de Dupleix à Chandernagor sont les plus brillantes de l’histoire de cette ville. Il est juste d’ajouter que jamais la situation ne fut non plus aussi favorable—les luttes européennes n’avaient pas encore d’écho dans l’Inde. Les choses devaient malheureusement changer de face sous peu.

Quelques années en effet, la situation européenne venait rendre plus difficiles les relations entre Anglais et Français dans le Bengale et même dans toute l’Inde.

D’autre part, Aliverdhi Khan qui avait réussi à maintenir la paix entre ses hôtes étrangers vint à mourir, son petit fils Sirajoud Daula monta sur le trône et entreprit la lutte contre les Anglais. Calcutta fut pris par lui, par surprise en 1756, il fut repris l’année suivante par Clive et Watson, mais cette épisode brouilla Anglais et Français, les premiers ayant accusé les seconds d’avoir favorisé les agresseurs.

Bientôt la rupture inévitable fût consommée, Clive envoya au Directeur de Chandernagor un ultimatum qui resta sans réponse.

Dépourvus de tout secours de la Métropole trop occupée elle même par la lutte contre une coalition formidable en Europe, les Dirigeants français de Chandernagor auraient préféré à un conflit armé une entente leur permettant de conserver leur neutralité.

Les fortifications en ruine de Chandernagor offraient une maigre défense contre l’armée de Clive et la flotte de Watson—les propositions pacifiques de Renault, Directeur de nos possessions françaises dans le Bengale ne furent pas écoutées et 4000 européens et cipayes marchèrent sur Chandernagor par terre, pendant qu’une flotte commandée par Watson remontait la rivière pour attaquer la ville de tous les côtés à la fois. Malgré les essais de diversion par le nord tentés par Renault en entraînant le Nabab dans la lutte, celle-ci était trop inégale et la ville devait succomber.

J’ai trouvé dans un ouvrage anglais le récit de ce siège. Du côté français 500 cipayes commandés par de Tury auquel étaient adjoints quelques officiers de marine du petit bateau de la Compagnie “ Saint Contest ”; on arma aussi les employés de la Compagnie et les habitants capables de porter les armes et qui constituèrent un corps de volontaires; mais on manquait de spécialistes pour mettre la ville en état de défense en améliorant les fortifications et il était trop tard pour en faire venir d’Europe.

L'âme de la défense fut De la Vigne Buisson, de chaque côté on enrolait des volontaires, deserteurs anglais dans le camp français, déserteurs français dans le camp anglais.

C'est enfin que Renault, son fils qui commandait les volontaires, de la Vigne de Buisson d'autres, déployèrent une activité et une bravoure extrême, la ville capitula après un siège de douze jours. L'action décisive fut, dit le narrateur anglais, celle des bateaux de Watson et il loue fort le courage déployé par les défenseurs qui luttèrent jusqu'à ce que pris de toutes parts ils durent se rendre.

La capitulation fut honorable, mais néanmoins, c'était la ruine de l'oeuvre de Deslandes et de Dupleix et de tous les habitants riches installés à Chandernagor—la ville ne se releva jamais de ce désastre, les fortifications furent rasées, Renault écrivait " toute la colonie est dispersée et les habitants cherchent un asile la plupart sont allés se réfugier les uns à Chinsurah, les autres en territoire danois et à Calcutta. Cette dispersion étant causée par la misère dans laquelle nos compatriotes sont réduits, leur pauvreté que je ne puis secourir, des larmes me sortent des yeux à ce spectacle, le plus cruel que je puisse voir, de gens qui se sont si bravement sacrifiés pour les intérêts de notre Compagnie et de notre nation ".

Les soldats et les marins anglais rendaient hommage à la bravoure malheureuse des vaincus et l'un d'eux écrit " la conduite des Français en cette occasion a été digne de la bravoure bien connue de cette nation ".

Dans la suite, le jeu des traités, des guerres heureuses nous rendirent la libre possession de Chandernagor et de ses dépendances, mais les rêves de création d'un grand empire franco-indien dans le Bengale semblaient à jamais évanouis.

Le dernier agent du Roi, Chevalier a cependant laissé le souvenir d'un homme entreprenant et fastueux qui recevait avec beaucoup de bonne grâce dans une maison qui existe encore et surtout à Goretty, dans une très jolie villa dont les derniers vestiges ont été détruits il y a peu d'années.

Dans toute l'Inde, affirme-t-on, il n'était bruit que de la splendeur des réceptions de Goretty, du " jardin de l'amitié ", on y marivaudait dans le goût du temps, des idylles se nouaient sous les ombrages, l'une d'elle est restée fameuse, elle finit assez mal d'ailleurs, celle de Francis Grand et de la jolie Catherine Wórlée, fille du Capitaine de port de Chandernagor et qui, à la suite de vicissitudes nombreuses, devint la femme de Talleyrand, Prince de Benevent, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Napoléon, l'une des figures les plus curieuses de la Révolution et de l'époque napoléonienne.

Le portrait de l'héroïne qu'en a fait Madame Vigée-Lebrun, le grand peintre connu, s'il n'est flatté, explique bien des choses—l'aventure fit beaucoup de bruit à l'époque, duel procès en divorce, et le sévère Dupleix n'eut pas manquer de s'offusquer que Goretty eut connu les débuts d'une semblable aventure.

Chevalier vit venir la révolution à Chandernagor. On raconte que quelques matelots et quelques habitants turbulents, brûlant du désir de proclamer la République, se présentèrent chez lui alors qu'il passait tranquillement son *week end* à Goretty, vidèrent sa cave en signe d'allégresse

et joyeusement se rendirent à Goretty. Chevalier put heureusement s'enfuir, pour revenir ensuite, l'effervescence passée.

Dans la suite, un comité à l'instar des départements français pendant la période révolutionnaire fonctionna à Chandernagor. On a conservé les procès-verbaux des séances de ce comité et ils ne manquent pas de saveur.

L'état de guerre ayant repris avec l'Angleterre, un détachement de troupes anglaises fut envoyé à Chandernagor dans le but de s'emparer de Chevalier. Celui-ci put cependant s'enfuir grâce à l'ingéniosité de sa femme la comtesse de Serigny, qui réussit à détourner l'attention des soldats anglais.

Je ne voudrais pas terminer cet exposé sans dire un mot des plans élaborés par Chavalier et la Cour de Versailles pour reprendre les projets de Duplex. Le moment paraissait favorable pendant les guerres de l'indépendance d'Amérique qui avaient été un succès pour nos armes.

Les flottes anglaises occupées au loin se trouvaient dans une situation aussi défavorable que les nôtres pendant les grandes guerres de Louis XV.

Des centaines d'aventuriers français servaient les princes indiens, particulièrement les Maharattes.

La "Calcutta Historical Society" a publié en 1918 dans sa revue "Bengal Past and Present" une étude fort intéressante sur ce sujet et que je n'ai pas le loisir d'analyser, même brièvement, ici.

On y parle de ces aventuriers audacieux qui guerroyaient pour le compte des princes indiens où étaient les confidents et les conseillers de ceux-ci pour le compte de Chevalier.

Gentil à la Cour Maharatte, le Médecin Visage Lionel du Jaday à Delhi, Dolisi, Conte de Modave, Sombre dont la fortune était énorme et qui avait sous ses ordres 300 européens et 2 ou 3000 payes avec des canons, Dieu, Soulier, Du Lallee, de Cressi et des centaines d'autres, à la recherche de l'aventure et dont Chevalier s'efforçait de discipliner l'effort en vue de ses projets.

Le plus distingué fut Madec dont le rôle fut vraiment important, comme intermédiaire entre la Cour de Versailles et le Grand Mogol qui offrait à Louis XVI la cession du delta de l'Indus contre l'envoi dans l'Inde d'un contingent important de soldats français.

J'ai eu entre les mains un ouvrage sur René Madec le "Nabab René Madec" comme on l'appelait publié en 1894.

L'offre fut sérieusement accueillie en France, mais l'explosion trop rapide de la guerre de 1778 empêcha une étude précise de la coopération en question.

Néanmoins le plan d'attaque du Bengale existe, il comportait outre la création d'un établissement français sur le Sindh inférieur, le siège de Fort William et la prise de Calcutta.

Dans son plan de restauration de la puissance française en Orient, Napoléon a repris les idées de Madec.

La Restauration, et les Gouvernements qui l'ont suivi fait de l'alliance anglaise une des bases de leur politique; les plans sur l'Inde ont donc été

abandonnés pour d'autres projets dans des régions où les Français ont porté avec succès leur activité colonisatrice.

Depuis que tous ces faits sont entrés dans le domain de l'histoire de deux pays, de nombreux historiens français et anglais se sont plus à en relater les moindres incidents, tout à l'honneur de nos nationaux qui ont écrit dans ce pays des pages glorieuses et inoubliables.

Depuis 110 ans que la fin des guerres de l'Empire a marqué la reconciliation de nos deux pays, reconciliation qu'une récente et horrible tourmente a transformé en une franche et loyale amitié, la plus parfaite tranquillité n'a cessé de régner dans nos établissements restaurés à la France par les traités de 1815.

Plus que personne je m'en rejouis et vous remercie Mesdames et Messieurs de la bienveillante attention avec laquelle vous avez bien voulu écouter cet exposé très succinct et très incomplet d'une grande époque.

VALENTIN CHAMPION,

Administrateur de Chandernagor.

Mai 1925.

A Fragment of Indian History.

(From the French of M. de Voltaire)

[The following article has been translated by Mr. Akhay Kumar Ghose from "Fragmens sur les Révolutions aux Indes, La mort du Comte Lally, et la poursuite du Comte de Moraiyes", par M. de Voltaire", published in 1774: being Article XII: "Ce qui s'est passé aux Indes avant l'arrivée du général Lally—L'histoire d' Angria—La défaite des Anglais en Bengale".]

ABOUT a hundred years ago a Maratto, named Conogi Angria, who had commanded some vessels belonging to his nation against those of the Emperor of India, became a pirate, and infesting the coast of Bombay, he plundered indiscriminately his countrymen, the neighbouring people, and in general all who traded in that Sea. On this coast he easily took possession of some little islands, or rather rocks of difficult access. One of these he fortified with a ditch cut in the solid rock. The bastions were strengthened by walls ten or twelve feet thick, and mounted with cannons. Here he deposited his booty. His son and grandson continued the same trade, and with great success. One entire province lying at the back of Bombay was subdued by the latter. Vagabond Marathas, Indians, renegade Christians, and Negroes flocked in great numbers to this piratical republic, which became almost equal to that of Algiers. The fortune of the Angrias affords an instance of what valour may effect in the prosecution of conquests both by sea and land. We behold two robbers successively establishing powerful governments in the North and South of India. The one is Abdalah in the neighbourhood of Cabool, the other Angria on the coast of Bombay. But how many states have risen to great eminence and dominion from beginnings equally inconsiderable?

The honour of the English required that they should send out fleets against new conquerors. This war (for it was a contest of sufficient importance to merit such a name) was begun by Admiral James in 1755, and concluded by Admiral Watson. In it Captain Clive, so much celebrated since that time, distinguished himself by his military talents. All the retreats of those illustrious robbers were successively taken. In their capital fortress was found an immense quantity of merchandize, two hundred cannons, a large arsenal with gold, diamonds, pearls and spiceries, to the amount of a hundred and fifty millions of livres. What could scarcely be collected from the whole coast of Coromandel and from Peru, was deposited in this rock. Angria himself escaped; but his mother, wife, and children, were taken prisoners by Admiral Watson, who, as we may well believe, treated them with humanity. The youngest of the children, on hearing that Angria could not be found, threw his arms round the Admiral's neck, saying, "Then you will be my father, instead of my captor." Admiral Watson,

realising through an interpreter the meaning and import of the words which the child spoke, was so much affected as to shed tears. He became in effect a father to the whole family. This fortunate and memorable achievement of the British arms was counterbalanced by a disaster in their principal settlement in Bengal.

A dispute arose between the English factory at Calcutta upon the Ganges, and the Soubah of Bengal, who imagined from the confidence with which they appeared to act, that they had a considerable garrison in that place; the city however contained only a Council of Merchants, and about three hundred soldiers. Against this small force marched the most powerful prince in India, with sixty thousand troops, three hundred cannons, and three hundred elephants.

Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, was a man very different from the celebrated Admiral of that name. He professed the religion of those respectable Pensylvanians whom we distinguish by the title of quakers. This primitive sect, who inhabit Philadelphia in America, and whose ideas of humanity reflect reproach on the other quarters of the world, entertain the same horror as the Bramins at shedding human blood. They consider war as a crime. Drake was an intelligent merchant and an honest man. Hitherto he had concealed his religion; but now declaring it, the Council insisted that he should go on board a vessel in the Ganges for safety.

Who could imagine that the Moguls in the first attack would lose twelve thousand men? Accounts of the engagement however confirm it. If such be really the fact, nothing can more fully evince what we have so often mentioned regarding the superiority of the Europeans. But the garrison could not possibly hold out long: the city was taken, and all the inhabitants were put in irons. Among the captives, a hundred and forty-six English officers and factors were thrown into a dungeon called the "Black Hole." They experienced the fatal effects of hot and confined air; or rather of the vapour that continually perspired from their bodies. A hundred and twenty-three men were destroyed by this noxious exhalation in a few hours.

Mr. Holwell, Deputy-Governor of Calcutta, was one of those who escaped the effects of this sudden contagion. He, with twenty-two officers of the factory, all in a deplorable situation, was carried to Mouxadabad the capital of Bengal. The Soubah having compassion upon them ordered their irons to be struck off. Holwell offered him a ransom, but the prince refused to accept it, saying, that they had already suffered too much, without being obliged to pay for their liberty.

This is the same Holwell who has acquired not only a knowledge of the language of the modern Bramins, but also that of their forefathers of antiquity. It is he who has since written such valuable memoirs of India; and who has translated some sublime passage of the first book composed in the sacred language, more ancient than those of Sanchoniathon of Phoenicia, the Egyptian Mercury, and the earliest legislators of China. The learned Bramins of Benares reckon these books to be about five thousand years old.

On this occasion, gratitude induces me to acknowledge how much the world is indebted to a man who made a voyage to India merely for the sake of information. He has unveiled to us what lay concealed for so many ages: he has done more than Pythagoras, and Apollonius of Thiana. We would advise every person who is desirous of instruction on the subject, to read attentively the ancient allegorical fables, the original source of all the fables which have been substituted in the room of truth in Persia, Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, and among the smallest and most contemptible herds, as among the greatest and most flourishing nations. These objects are more worthy of the attention of a wise man, than the disputes about muslin and calico, which we shall be obliged, however, to mention later on in the course of this examination.

We must not be understood as if we gave implicit faith to every thing which Mr. Holwell relates. No person whatever is entitled to such unlimited credit. But it must be said that he has proved that the Gangarides built up a system of mythology, good or bad, five thousand years ago. The learned and judicious Jesuit Parennin has demonstrated that the Chinese were re-united into a community about that period: and if at that time they were, they must necessarily have been so before; great colonies are not formed in a day. It becomes not us, who were only barbarians when these people were learned and refined, to dispute their antiquity. It is possible, that amidst the multitude of revolutions which happen in the world, Europe might have cultivated the arts and known the sciences before Asia; but we find no evidence of such a fact, and Asia is full of ancient monuments.

To return to the revolution in India; the Soubah, whose name was Suraja-Doulah, was by birth a Tartar. It is said, that after the example of Aurangzebe, he had formed the design of making himself master of all India. That he was extremely ambitious there is no question. We are further informed that he looked with contempt on his feeble and pusillanimous Emperor, and that he hated equally all those foreign merchants who came to take advantage of, and increase the confusion of the empire. After taking the fort of the English he threatened those of the Dutch and the French. They purchased their safety for sums of money, which may be considered as very moderate in that country: the French for about six hundred thousand livres; and the Dutch, as being more opulent, for twelve hundred thousand franks. At this time the Soubah entertained no design of destroying them. He had in his army a kinsman of his own and of the great Mogul, a rival in ambition, and more to be dreaded than a company of merchants. In this transaction above-mentioned, Suraja-Doulah conducted himself in the same manner as several Turkish Viziers and Sultans of Constantinople, who have sometimes declared the resolution of driving all the ambassadors of the powers of Europe, and all their factories, out of the Turkish dominions, but have permitted them to remain in the country on paying dearly for the privilege.

As soon as the dangerous situation of the English on the Ganges was known at Madras, they immediately despatched to their assistance by sea

all the men who could be levied capable of bearing arms. M. de Bussy, who was in that quarter with some troops, availed himself of the opportunity. He and M. Law seized all the English factories beyond Masulipatam, on the coast of the great province of Orixá, between those of Golconda and Bengal. This seasonable success restored in some degree the strength of the Company, which otherwise must have soon been destroyed.

In the meantime Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, conquerors of Angria and deliverers of the whole coast of Malabar, arrived also at Bengal by the sea of Coromandel. They were informed on their way that there was no returning to the city of Calcutta without coming to an engagement with the enemy; in consequence of which they crowded all their sails. Thus in a little time the flames of war spread from Surat to the mouth of the Ganges, over a territory about a thousand leagues in circumference, as happens so often in Europe among Christian princes, whose interests are perpetually changing and clashing with each other, to the misfortune of mankind.

When Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive arrived in the road of Calcutta, they found that the good quaker governor of the city, and those who took refuge with him, had retreated into some crazy barks on the Ganges, whither the enemy did not pursue them. The Soubah had a hundred thousand soldiers, with cannons and elephants, but no boats. The English who were driven from Calcutta waited patiently on the Ganges, till assistance arrived from Madráss; the Admiral supplied them with provisions, of which they stood in need. The Colonel, joined by the officers of the fleet and the sailors who increased his little army, made haste to encounter the whole force of the Soubah: but meeting only with one Raja, governor of the city, he put him to flight. This strange governor, instead of retreating into the city, went and alarmed the prince's camp, telling them that the English whom he had met were very different from those that had been taken at Calcutta.

If we may credit the memoirs of the times and the public papers, Colonel Clive confirmed the prince in this opinion, by writing to him in the following terms. "An English Admiral, who commands an invincible squadron, and a soldier, whose name you know, are come to punish you for your cruelties. You had better make atonement to us than wait the issue of our revenge." He might well hazard this bold and oriental style. The Soubah knew that his competitor, whom we have already mentioned, as a very powerful raja in his army, and whom he dared not to arrest, was already negotiating secretly with the English. He answered this letter only by giving battle. The victory was undetermined between an army consisting of about eighty thousand men, and one of about four thousand, half English, and half seapoys.

Thereupon they entered into a treaty, in which he who had most address would reap the best advantage. The Soubah restored Calcutta and the prisoners, but he maintained a secret correspondence with M. de Bussy; and Colonel, or rather, General, Clive on his part negotiated likewise a

private treaty with the Soubah's rival. The name of this rival was Jaffier; his aim was to ruin the Soubah his kinsman and dethrone him. The intention of the Soubah was to destroy the English with the assistance of the French, his new friends, and afterwards also to destroy the latter. Here follow the articles of the singular treaty which the Mogal Prince Jaffier signed in his tent.

In the presence of God and his prophet, I Jaffier, &c., swear that I will observe this convention as long as I live.

I shall consider the enemies of the English as my own, &c.

To indemnify them for the loss which they have sustained, I shall give a hundred lacks (twenty-four millions of French livres). To the inhabitants, fifty lacks (twelve millions). To the Moors and the Gentoos in the service of the English, twenty lacks (four millions eight hundred thousand livres). To the Armenians who traded in Calcutta, seven lacks (sixteen hundred and fifty thousand). The whole amounting to about forty-two millions, four hundred and eighty thousand.

I shall pay these several sums immediately on their making me Soubah of those provinces.

The Admiral, the Colonel, and four other officers (whose names are mentioned) may dispose of this money as they think proper.

This article was stipulated with the view of saving them from all reproach.

Besides these presents, the Soubah patronized by Colonel Clive, extended greatly the territories of the Company. M. Dupleix obtained nothing like such advantages, when he created nabobs.

We do not find that the English officers swore to this treaty on the Bible: perhaps they had none.

The Soubah Suraja-Doulah on his part actually sent pecuniary assistance to Messieurs de Bussy and Law, while his rival Jaffier gave nothing but promises. He would have caused Jaffier to be assassinated; but that prince kept too strong a guard round his person for the project to succeed. The one and the other, amidst all the excess of their mutual hatred and distrust, took a solemn oath of inviolable friendship on the Alcoran.

The Soubah himself, deceived and willing to deceive, led Jaffier against the English troops, which could not be called an army. At length, on the 20th of June [1757] a decisive battle was fought between him and Colonel Clive. The Soubah was defeated: they took from him his cannon, his elephants, his baggage, his artillery. Jaffier commanded a separate camp: he did not engage, but cunningly kept aloof, that it might be in his power to avail himself of the issue of the action: if the Soubah proved victorious, he would join with him; if the English were conquerors, theirs was the cause which he would espouse. The successful party pursued the Soubah from the field of battle as far as his capital Mouxadabad, which they entered immediately after him. He himself eluded the pursuit, and wandered a miserable fugitive for some days. Colonel Clive saluted Jaffier as Soubah

of the three provinces of Bengal, Golconda, and Orixá, a territory equal to any of the finest kingdoms in the world.

Suraja-Doulah the dethroned prince fled alone, without help and without hope. Being informed of a cave where lived a holy faquir (a Mahometan hermit) he took refuge in the habitation of this saint. He was struck with astonishment at finding the faquir to be a culprit whose nose and ears he had formerly caused to be cut off. The prince and saint were reconciled by means of some money; but to profit as much as possible by the incident, the faquir gave notice to the conqueror of the fugitive's retreat. Doulah was taken, and condemned to death by Jaffer. His prayers and his tears availed nothing, and he was executed without mercy, after pouring water upon his head, according to a whimsical ceremony, practised from time immemorial on the banks of the Ganges, to the waters of which people have always ascribed very singular properties and virtues. This is a sort of purification imitated since by the Egyptians: it is the origin of the lustral water among the Greek and the Romans. Among the papers of this unfortunate prince they discovered all his correspondence with Messrs. Bussy and Law.

During the course of this expedition General Clive hastened to the conquest of Chandernagor, a post of the greatest importance which the French had at that time in India; filled with a prodigious quantity of merchandize, and defended by a hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, five hundred French soldiers and seven hundred blacks.

Clive and Watson had not more than four hundred men at most; yet at the end of five days the place was obliged to surrender. The capitulation was signed on the 23rd of March 1757, by the General and Admiral on one side, and by Fournier, Nicholas, la Potière, and Caillot on the other side. The Commissaries requested that the conqueror should permit the Jesuits to remain in the city. Clive replied, that the Jesuits could not be indulged with that exemption, but would have liberty to go wherever they pleased. The merchandise found in the warehouses was sold for a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling.

The whole success of the English in this part of India was chiefly owing to the enterprise of the celebrated Clive. The highest respect was entertained for his name at the Court of the Great Mogul, who sent him an elephant loaded with magnificent presents, and a patent appointing him a Raja. The King of Great Britain created him an Irish Peer. It was he who in the late debates on the subject of the East-India Company, answered those who demanded an account of the millions which he had acquired with glory: "I have given one to my secretary, two to my friends, and reserved the remainder for myself."

In another session he said, "No person shall attack my honour with impunity: let my judges not forget their own." Almost all the principal servants of the East-India Company have behaved in the same manner. Their profusion has equalled their riches. The proprietors suffer, but England gains; since at the expiration of a few years each returns to spend

in his own country what he has amassed on the banks of the Ganges, and the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar: just as the immense treasure obtained by Admiral Anson on his voyage round the world, and those which other Admirals have acquired by captures, increased the opulence of the nation.

Ever since the victory of Lord Clive, the English have ruled in Bengal; and all the Nabobs who attacked them have been repulsed. In London, however, fears have been entertained lest the Company should be ruined by the excess of their good fortune, as the French have been by discord, famine, the inadequacy of assistance which was moreover late in arriving, and the continued change of ministers, who having confused and wrong ideas of Indian affairs, blindly reversed the orders of their predecessors, which had been issued with the same indiscretion. All the misfortunes of the State necessarily affected the Company. The Government could not sufficiently assist them when the French were defeated in Germany, when in America they lost Canada, Martinico, and Guadaloupe, and in Africa, Goree, with all their settlements on the Senegal; when many of their ships were taken, and lastly, when the King and the citizens were reduced to sell their plate to raise money for the payment of the army; a poor resource in the midst of so great calamities.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the office of the Society at 3, Government Place, West, on Wednesday the 16th December 1925.

On the motion of Rai Bahadur Pramatha Nath Mullick seconded by Rai Bahadur Moni Lall Nahar, Sir Evan Cotton was voted to the Chair.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Hony. Secretary, read the annual report.

REPORT FOR 1925.

The Calcutta Historical Society has now entered upon the 19th year of its existence after going through many vicissitudes in the past. The Committee are greatly indebted to Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., for his untiring zeal and warm devotion to the cause of the Society and for the regular issue of its journal *Bengal: Past and Present*. But I have to announce with regret that the Society is about to be deprived of his invaluable services as Sir Evan is expected to sail for England early in January next. Mr. A. N. Nicholson the present Honorary Treasurer of the Society will also be leaving for home on furlough for twelve months early next year, and he will not therefore be able to carry on the duties of our Treasurer which he has so creditably performed during the past year.

During the year under review the total number of members of the Society was 202 against 199 of the previous year. But I am sorry to report that the subscriptions of 30 ordinary members are in arrears.

The work of indexing volumes 9-18 of *Bengal: Past and Present* has been completed and sent to the press. It will take about three months to print the volume. The printing charges for 250 copies will approximately be, according to the estimate of the "Calcutta Fine Art Cottage," Rs. 634. The indexing of the remaining volumes is in progress.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the generous contribution of Rs. 500 by Raja Janaki Nath Ray to the Society's Index Fund during the year under review.

The balance at the bank up-to-date, as will appear from the Financial Statement submitted by the Honorary Treasurer, amounts to Rs. 2,181-4-8, out of which the sum of Rs. 1,181-4-8 belongs to the Index Fund.

I regret to report that death has claimed one of the warmest friends of the Society in the distinguished person of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Lord Curzon consistently showed the greatest possible interest in the work of the Society from the day of its constitution. Many valuable contributions from his facile pen will be found scattered through the pages of *Bengal: Past*

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY INDEX FUND ACCOUNT.

Income & Disbursements for the year ended 31st December 1925.

INCOME.	DISBURSEMENTS.
Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1925—</i>	<i>Honorarium to Clerks</i>
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... 800	<i>re: Indexing</i> ... 300 0 0
On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... 199	<i>Balance at 31st December 1925—</i>
Interest ... 31 5 7	Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... 1,000-0-0
Donation ... 500 0 0	On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. 230-5-7
Rs. 1,530 5 7	1,230 5 7
	Rs. 1,530 5 7

CALCUTTA,
28th January 1926.

Examined and found correct,
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT.

INCOME.	DISBURSEMENTS.
Rs. As. P.	Rs. As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1925—</i>	<i>Disbursements—</i>
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... 1,000 0 0	<i>Printing & Blocks</i> ... 2,230 3 0
On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... 20 7 6	<i>Wages and Honorarium</i> ... 390 0 0
1,020 7 6	<i>Postages</i> ... 200 0 0
<i>Subscriptions realised—</i>	<i>Stationery</i> ... 25 10 0
Arrears ... 230 0 0	<i>Sundries</i> ... 96 7 3
1925 ... 2,315 14 9	<i>Bank Charges</i> ... 2 14 0
1926 in advance... 40 0 0	<i>Balance at 31st December 1925—</i>
2,585 14 9	Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... 1,000 0 0
<i>Sales</i> ... 361 0 0	On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ... 30 10 1
<i>Interest</i> ... 8 6 1	1,030 10 1
Rs. 3,975 12 4	Rs. 3,975 12 4

CALCUTTA,
28th January 1926.

Examined and found correct,
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

The Editor's Note Book.

BEGINNINGS OF THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

OFFSPRING OF ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL: EARLY WORK OF CALCUTTA SCHOLARS.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Trustee and Honorary Secretary, Indian Museum.)

THE Imperial Museum of Calcutta owes its origin to the initiation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; consequently a knowledge of the latter is necessary to trace the birth and growth of the institution. Little did the great Oriental scholar and linguist, Sir William Jones, think, when he first laid the foundations of the "Asiatic Society of Bengal," in Calcutta in 1784, that in the course of time it would assume such proportions and that eventually out of it—with the steady progress of learning and science in India—another institution would arise in the shape of the Indian Museum, which in the point of usefulness and magnitude was destined to cast its progenitor in the shade.

At first the Asiatic Society had no permanent dwelling of its own. As the many relics and curiosities sent by men, interested in its growth, began to accumulate, the want of a suitable repository for their preservation began to be seriously felt and ultimately by the help of the Government a suitable piece of land was acquired at the corner between the Park Street and Chowringhee on which the building for the Society was built and which continues to the present day.

The proposal for forming a Museum in Calcutta was first put forward by Dr. Nathaniel Wallich, a Danish botanist, who in February, 1814, wrote a letter to the Society strongly supporting the formation of a Museum in Calcutta and holding out the assurance of his active and whole-hearted co-operation. The members of the Society resolved to establish a Museum in the Society's premises, to be divided into two sections, *viz.* (*a*) archaeological, ethnological and technical and (*b*) geological and zoological. The librarian of the Society was placed in charge of the former and Dr. Wallich took charge of the latter. The scope of the Museum expanded until it became a storehouse of all articles throwing light on Oriental manners, customs, history and also on the peculiarities of art as well as containing the products of Nature in the East.

Pioneer Scholars.

Strenuous efforts were made to collect "inscriptions, on stone or brass, ancient monuments, either Hindu or Muhammadan, figures of Hindu deities,

ancient coins, ancient manuscripts, instruments of war peculiar to the East, instruments of music, vessels used in religious ceremonies, implements of Indian art and manufacture, animals peculiar to India, dried or preserved skeletons or particular bones of such animals, birds stuffed or preserved, dried plants and fruits, mineral or vegetable preparations peculiar to Eastern pharmacy, ores of metals of every description and other articles serviceable to history and science."

Under the supervision of Dr. Wallich and aided by the sympathy of such scholars as Colonel Stuart, Dr. Tytler, General Mackenzie, Mr. Brian Hodgson, Captain Dillon and Babu Ramkamal Sen, the Museum soon established its prosperity.

After the resignation of Dr. Wallich, paid curators were appointed on salaries ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 a month. The Society up to 1836 used to pay the salary of the Curator from its own purse; but as its bankers, Palmer and Co. became insolvent in that year, the Society was obliged to memorialize the Government for a grant from the public funds. A temporary grant of Rs. 200 per mensem payable from the 1st August, 1837, was sanctioned for the up-keep of the existing museum and the library of the Society.

After the sanction of the grant Dr. J. T. Pearson of the Bengal Medical Service was appointed Curator, who was shortly after succeeded by Dr. McClelland. Mr. Edward Blyth took up the post when Dr. McClelland resigned. By their letter of the 18th September, 1839, the Court of Directors sanctioned a grant of Rs. 300 a month for the salary of the Curator and for the general maintenance of the Museum and also authorized the Government of India to sanction grants from time to time for special purposes.

Museum of Geology.

Since 1835 the attention of the Government of India was directed towards the development of the mineral resources of the country, especially by the satisfactory working of the Ranigunge Coal Mines and they began seriously thinking of opening a Museum of Economic Geology in 1840 in the Society's rooms. The Museum was greatly enriched by the presentation of valuable and rare geological specimens collected by Captain G. B. Tremenheere, who went to England in 1841 for that purpose. For a separate Curator of this Geological Museum, the Government of India sanctioned an additional grant of Rs. 250 a month.

Up to 1856 this Museum of Economic Geology continued to occupy the premises of the Society. In that year, however the portion of the collection owned by the Government of India was removed to No. 1, Hastings' Street in connection with the Geological Survey of India then recently established. This removal set free a considerable amount of space in the Society's rooms which was fully utilized for the display of the archæological and zoological collections which had grown with surprising rapidity under the able management of Mr. Blyth.

With the progress of time, however, it became apparent that the further development of the Society would ere long come to a halt on account of the limited space and funds at its disposal. In 1858 the members of the Society submitted a proposal to the Government of India "for the foundation of an Imperial Museum in the metropolis to which the whole of the Society's collections except the library might be transferred." The Government of India could not accede to the Society's request on grounds of economy; at the same time they expressed their readiness to relieve the Society of its congestion by taking over the geological and palæontological collections from its charge. This answer did not satisfy the Society and the members decided to memorialize the Secretary of State for India in Council direct for the establishment of a Museum in Calcutta.

On May 22, 1862, the Government of India informed the Society that "the time had arrived when the foundation of a Public Museum in Calcutta which had been generally accepted as a duty of the Government may be considered with a view to its practical realization. With regard to the locality of the Museum they wrote:—"The Governor-General-in-Council considers that it may most advantageously be placed on the site now occupied by the Small Cause Court in Chowringhee Road and that some such building as that which has been recently proposed by Dr. Oldham (himself a member of the Society's Council) for the Government Geological Museum will be well adapted to the purposes of the General Museum." They further suggested that "The Indian Museum" would be the appropriate name of the proposed Institution.

An Imperial Institution.

As a result of correspondence between the Asiatic Society and the Government which lasted till the middle of the year 1865, it was arranged that the Zoological, Geological and Archæological collections under the Asiatic Society should be transferred to the Board of Trustees for the proposed Museum and that the Government should provide accommodation for the Society in the Museum Building to be held by it as an independent body. The Indian Museum Act of 1866 accorded legislative sanction to these conditions.

In the meantime the Trustees of the Indian Museum with a view to the perfection of a very valuable collection of meteoric stones and irons already collected by the Asiatic Society, and the Geological Survey Department requested the Madras and Bombay Governments to help them by presenting portions of any meteorites that might fall within their jurisdictions. In making this proposal the Board of Trustees confessed that it was their desire that "the collection that would be available in the Indian Museum might be, next to those of the British Museum and Vienna, the most perfect series extant and thus might offer to mineralogists for the purposes of comparison and description, such as was available nowhere else but in London and Vienna."

The Museum—hitherto the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—now ceased to be so and became an "Imperial" institution. It was not,

however, till 1875 that the Museum building—a masterpiece of the building art in India—was ready for occupation. The rare and precious collections accumulated since 1814 in the Asiatic Society by the enthusiasm of a laborious and unselfish band of workers were then transferred to the Museum building. It soon became evident to the Society, however, that for some cogent reasons it would not be advisable for them to occupy the Museum building and it refused to leave its old premises.

With the occupation of the building the question of organizing the Museum followed. In this laborious task Dr. John Anderson, the first Curator, and his assistant, Mr. James Wood-Mason devoted themselves with enthusiasm. The work occupied them more than two years and it was not before 1878 that the building was thrown open to the public.

This impressive building which has a frontage of three hundred feet facing the Maidan was designed by Mr. Walter B. Granville and was completed in 1875 at a cost of Rs. 1,40,000. This, in brief, is a sketch of an Institution that stands as a lasting memorial to the ungrudging efforts of a few scientists and educationists who devoted their all, in order that others may benefit in the years to be.

THERE has been for long time past some amount of mystery attaching to the person of Thomas Lyon, whose name is commemorated by Lyon's Range. The late Dr. C. R. Wilson, in one of his latest articles, expressed the view that Lyon, or Lyons, was a mere fictitious name under which, by Origin of Lyon's a piece of jobbery, Barwell came into possession of Range. the land now occupied by the Bengal Secretariat (Writers' Buildings), and the historian's indignation was further aggravated by the recollection that a portion of his land was the consecrated ground on which old St. Anne's Church once stood. Some time ago, the lady who contributed to our first issue an article on "The North Side of Tank Place", called my attention to a notice of a law suit brought against the Company by a contractor of the name of Thomas Lyon; and reported in Vol. II of Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*.* Miss Drummond asked me to search the records on her behalf, and I am afraid that my inability to go further into this particular matter of research has been the cause which has necessitated the delay in completing her articles on "Tank Place". I was familiar with the fact that a builder of the name of Thomas Lyon erected the walls which enclose the Presidency Jail on the maidan. During the last few weeks I have met with Mr. Lyon more than once in the pages of Hyde's notes. On 11th January 1782, Hyde records of Lyon: "He is a house builder and is said to have made a large fortune, and is now going to England, and intends to carry this appeal with him."

MR. R. C. STERNDALÉ in his *Historical Account of the Calcutta Collectorate* gives a transcript of the pottah relative to this property, "the

*From *Bengal: Past and Present*, p. 421. The Supreme Court in this cause gave judgment in favour of Mr. Lyon for sicca Rupees 25,000 "for superintending the Bhaugerutty River."

copy of which ' he writes, " was so faded as to be undecipherable, but was restored by the aid of a solution of nut gals." The document reads as follows:—

A pottah is hereby granted unto Mr. Thomas Lyons for the purpose of erecting a range of buildings for the accommodation of the junior servants of the Company for two pieces or parcels of waste ground to the north of the Great Tank, situated or lying and being between the Old Fort, the Great Tank, the Court-house and the New Play-house, and separated by the great road leading from Mr. Holwell's monument by the south front of the Court-house to the Salt Water Lake, and known by the name of Great Bungalo Road, agreeable to the annexed plan of the said two pieces of ground which are distinguished by the red colour, bounded by the red lines A B C D in No. 1, and E F G H in No. 2, and are of the following dimensions:—

No. 1 in the Dhee Calcutta lying to the southward of, and parallel to the Great Bungalo Road, is a regular piece in length from east to west or D to B 214 yards, and breadth from north to south or from B to A 35 yards, containing six bighas and four cottahs of the Hon'ble Company's coomar or untenanted ground, the rent sicca rupees 18-9-7 per annum.

No. 2 in Bazar Calcutta lying to the northward of the same road, the side G E parallel to the road is in length 214 yards, the opposite side H D is in length 218 yards, the east end G H is in breadth 92 yards, and the west end E F is in breadth 69 yards, containing 10 bighas 13 cottahs and 8 chittacks of the Honourable Company's coomar or untenanted ground, the rent sicca rupees 32-0-5.

The boundaries are as follows:—To the eastward or from C to H, a road of 60 feet width parallel to the west front of the Court-house, and the angle at H to be cut off, so as to leave the road in that part of it at the same breadth of 60 feet till its junction with the north road. To the westward, or from A to F, a line drawn from the west end of the play-house at right angles with the Great Bungalo Road. To the south, or from C to A, a road of 15 feet wide leading from the north-east angle of the railing of the Great Tank towards the Old Fort, parallel to and at the distance of 35 yards from the Great Bungalo Road. To the northward from F to H, a road 52 feet wide leading from the south railing of the Play-house by Mr. Huggins' house to the China Bazar.

The Great Bungalow Road, 100 feet wide, passing in its present direction between B and E the west end, and D and G the east end of the said two pieces of land, a line drawn from Mr. Holwell's monument to pass through the middle of the road.

To preserve uniformity and prevent nuisances, permission is given to Mr. Lyons to rail in the manner described in the plan by the yellow colour and lines to those two pieces of land which terminate to the westward of the two pieces granted to him. In the Cutchery of the Calcutta Division, this eighteenth day of November 1776.

But even Sterndale was under the spell of mystery. "I have not," he writes, "been able to trace how the transfer from Thomas Lyons to Richard Barwell took place, whether by sale, or whether, as appears possible, the transaction was a *benamee* one in the first instance." The following letter which by the courtesy of the Government of India I am enabled to publish here, will set the matter at rest.

(1783. O. C. 2nd June, No 16.)

To—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Etc.

No date.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—The term of the lease executed by Mr. Lyon to the Hon'ble Company of the nineteen houses in Calcutta occupied by the Company's Civil Servants being expired and Mr. Lyon having sold the buildings which are now become the property of Mr. Barwell's children, I beg leave as one of the attorneys of Mr. Barwell to propose to your Hon'ble Board a renewal of the lease for the space of five years upon the terms of the former deed

If this proposal meets with the approbation of your Hon'ble Board, I entreat you will be pleased to order the Hon'ble Company's Attorney to prepare the lease

I have, etc.,

C. CROFTES,

Attorney to Rd. Barwell, Esq.

(O. C. 1783 9th June, No. 25.)

(To) James Peter Auriol, Esq.,

Secretary to the General Department.

Calcutta, 5th June 1783.

SIR,—I have received your favour of the 4th instant. and have in consequence prepared and now enclose for the approbation of the Hon'ble Board a draft of the lease from the Trustees of Mr. Barwell's children to the United Company of the Writers' Barracks which has been approved by the Advocate-General.

I am, etc.

Geo. WROUGHTON,

Attorney for ye Hon'ble Company.

OF BARWELL'S FAMOUS HOUSE, now occupied by the Royal Military Orphanage, the present writer, as Chaplain of Kidderpore, might well be expected to have much to say, but for the present he must be brief. The Supreme Council, under some misapprehension, rented it from the Trustees of Barwell's children, for the official residence of Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief. Coote declined the privilege, and in the sequel there was much correspondence and a case before the Supreme Court. The Trustees, it may be noted, were Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Joseph Cator.

Oath of Allegiance

I A B do sincerely promise and swear that I will be
faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty
to help me God

Eyes look

Warren Hastings
J Clavering
Geo: Monson
Rich^d Pawell
Francis
Alex^r Macbride Sheriff
J Montague Sheriff
W. Johnson, Co. clerk
W. Voderberg
Jan'y the 3^d 1777

Edm Wheeler
Geo Richardson
1st Jan^y 1778
M^r Montague Durin

John W. Johnson
1st October 1781
Carmichael Church

W. J. J.
Ann Mathis
Chas Stuart
R. Sloper

Cornwallis
Shore
Gheri Clerk

(Note This Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings)

The humour of the situation was that the lease was made out, despite Francis and Wheeler, in the name of Warren Hastings (who used his casting vote at the Council) and Barwell himself! It is difficult to abstain from the conjecture that "Barwell's children" represent trickery.

MENTION was made in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, p. 162) to the escapade which nearly proved fatal to the career of Mr. William Townsend Jones, an explosive Irish attorney of the Supreme Court. An account of the affair is given in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 26, 1787:

Mr. William Townsend Jones, attorney-at-law, who was committed to jail on Friday last by the Honourable Mr. Justice Hyde on a charge of having been the cause of the death of a brother of his durwan by giving him a severe flogging, appeared in Court on Tuesday, and was admitted to bail, himself in 10,000 rupees, and two sureties in 5,000 each. Many depositions were read in Court, which tended to prove the innocence of Mr. Jones. We cannot, however, avoid reprobating the custom of flogging servants under any provocation as highly dangerous and repugnant to the feelings of a gentleman.

Jones was a Freemason and as such a member of the same Lodge as William Hickey, who speaks of his brother masons in the following language: "The Lodge No. 2, in which I was made, had belonging to it several of the tradesmen of Calcutta, also two or three vagabond attorneys, to neither of which description did I speak, and was therefore considered as extremely proud." In December 1784, the brethren of the Lodge were Hugh Gayer Honycomb, Right Worshipful Master, Henry Swinhoe, John Burrell, M. Ford, G. Jones, Stephen Bagshaw, William Williams, William Martin, W. Hyndman, R. Towers, W. T. Jones, [col.] F. Wilford, J. Boulden, James Forbes, Junior Warden, B. W. Gould, W. Jones, and W. Hickey. The Senior Warden, C. F. Brix was an advocate. The death of Townsend Jones at Calcutta on January 24, 1807, at the age of 50, is recorded in Urquhart's *Oriental Obituary* (Vol. III, 1813, p. 68) and is mentioned by Hickey in the newly-published fourth volume of his *Memoirs* (p. 326).

A PAGE OF AUTOGRAPHS.

THE page of autographs which we reproduce, will be found in the Second Volume of the "Bengal and Agra District Gazetteer" for 1841 (opposite page 437). It is evidently the first page of the Register of the Oath of Allegiance, for it is headed: "Oath of Ailegiance:—I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty. So help me God." At the foot of the page are the words: "Note. This Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings."

The signatures are full of interest. The first six, including that of Eyre Coote (Commander-in-chief from 1778 to 1783) which is inserted in the margin, call for no comment. Alexander Mackrabie, the brother-in-law of Francis, who died at Ganjam in the Northern Circars on November 26, 1776, was the first Sheriff of Calcutta appointed under the Charter of 1774. The nomination was made on December 9, 1774, by a majority of the Council, Hastings and Barwell voting for William Swainston, and Clavering, Monson, and Francis for Mackrabie. Samuel Montaigut (1776) was the second Sheriff: and was succeeded by William Wodsworth (1777) John Richardson (1778) and Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (1779), whose signature is missing. Alexander Van Rixtel, Sheriff in 1780 died in Calcutta on January 16, 1785. Jeremiah Church (1783) and Philip Yonge (1785) who were advocates of the Supreme Court, sign also as Sheriffs (1). Edward Wheler was Member of the Supreme Council from December 11, 1777, until his death at Sooksagur on October 10, 1784. John Macpherson was sworn in as a Councillor on October 1, 1781 and resigned on January 12, 1787, after acting as Governor-General from February 8, 1785 to September 12, 1786. John Stables and the Hon'ble Charles Stuart were also Members of Council: the former from November 11, 1782 to January 19, 1787, and the latter from February 28, 1785, to January 21, 1793. Lieut. General Robert Sloper was Commander-in-chief from July 21, 1785 to September 12, 1786, and Major-General Sir Alured Clarke from March 17, 1797, to March 17, 1798. Lord Cornwallis's signature would seem to have been appended when he first took charge of the office of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief on September 12, 1786. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth and Governor-General from October 28, 1793, to March 12, 1798, was a Member of Council from January 22, 1787 to December 14, 1789.

(Governor-General's Proceedings 17-10-1777.)

Read the following letter from the Collector of Government's Customs.

To the Hon'ble the Governor-General and the Council of Revenue.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

In obedience to your commands of the 14th inst. respecting Siretta Syah I have made the necessary enquiries and find that no gunge was ever established there till it came into the possession of Major Tolley. There was a Haut or weekly market there for several years for sale of fish, fruit and greens and sometimes paddy was brought there in small quantities on Cooley's heads. No duties have ever been collected by my office at these small hauts, but whenever they have been changed into gonges, or gunges erected in the neighbourhood of them I have thought it my duty to station chokies for the collections of the Government duties and have uniformly done so, giving notice at the same time to the Company's Custom House for collecting the royalty on grain.....

(Signed, John Petrie, dated 17-10-1777.)

(1) For an account of the Sheriffs of Calcutta, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 139 to 154.

The Calcutta Committee of Revenue appointed a Mr. Patterson to make a report in the matter but the Board did not wait for this report and "ordered the Major Tolley be directed to abolish the gonge in question as the Board find none was ever established at Siretta Syah until it came into his possession."

MR. J. J. COTTON, I.C.S., writes: I am sorry to have lowered (most unwittingly) the record of *Bengal: Past and Present* for Zoffan's Portrait of Beniram Pundit. accuracy by stating in the last number (Vol. XXX, p. 209) that the portrait painted by Zoffany of Beniram Pundit, the friend of Warren Hastings, had mysteriously disappeared in the course of transit from London to an up-country destination in India. Such was the story told to me by Mr. Francis Edwards on September 30 last, and I repeated the information in all good faith. I now learn from Mr. Richard Burn, C.S.I., of Lucknow, that the picture is at Benares and in the possession of Pundit Baijnath Das, the great grandson of Beniram, who purchased it about a year ago from Mr. Edwards.

IN THE EDITOR'S NOTES (Vol. XXX, part I, No. 59, p. 116), reference is made to Tong Atchew, and his desire for a grant of land.

In the proceedings of the Committee of Revenue for March 2nd 1781 there is embodied a copy of Atchew's letter to the Governor-General, which is reproduced verbatim.

COMMITTEE OF REVENUE'S PROCEEDINGS.

March 2nd, 1781.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.,

Governor-General and Members of the Supreme Council.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Having in consequence of the assurance of encouragement and protection communicated to me by your secretary in an extract from your proceedings of the 19th June 1778, lately returned to Bengal with a colony of 110 of my countrymen, I request that a grant of lands may be made to me as near the mart of Calcutta and as convenient for water carriage as possible. A spot enjoying both these advantages has been pointed out on the riverside north of Punjab Creek below Budge-budge in the pargana of Baha farmed to one Baranasi Ghose and is entirely waste under the head of Poheet (?Plateka) containing about 300 bighas. The season for cultivation being already far advanced I request the favour of an order to put me in possession of this ground as soon as can conveniently be.

I am with most profound respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

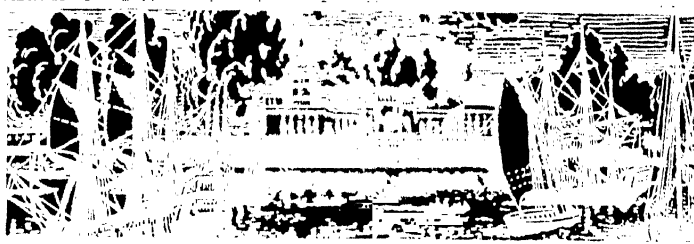
Your most obed. and humble servant,

(Signed) ATCHEW,

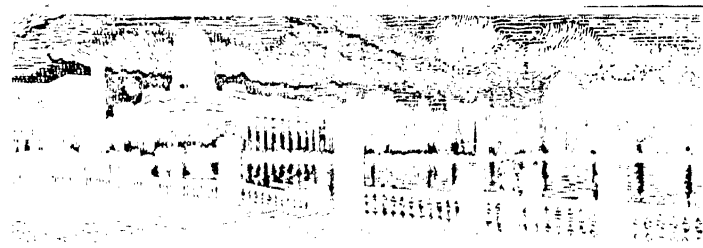
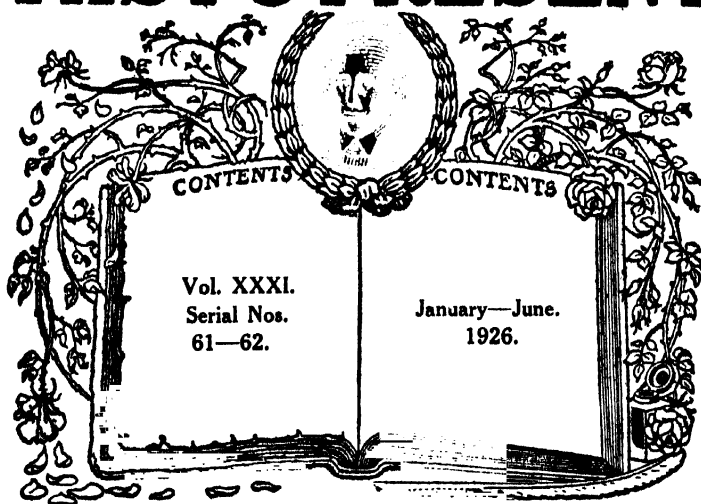
Witness Syamcharan Baisak.

The Dewan was ordered to enquire into this land, report whether it was Zamindari or belonging to the Company, whether it was Poheet or Hassill.

THIS issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* is the first which appears for several years without the guiding hand of Sir Evan Cotton. Readers will know how much the magazine owes to his energy, interest and remarkable knowledge of the history of Calcutta. It is not possible to replace such a loss, and the present Editor is sadly conscious of the great difference which the change must make in the management and conduct of this quarterly. He appeals to all those who are interested in the history of Calcutta and Bengal to continue their present support, in fact, to increase it as the magazine needs all their help. He wishes to express his thanks and acknowledgments to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul-Ali, Keeper of the Records, Government of India, and to Mr. N. Ganguli of Imperial Record Department for their great help in the issue of the present number and in particular to Mr. Ganguli who has most generously supervised much of the actual production of this number.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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* Armenians and the East India Company

" This people (the Armenians) have attained riches without usury "—' BYRON.'

THERE was once a famous city in Armenia, the inhabitants of which were so rich, prosperous and devout, that they had built a thousand and one churches for the worship of the true God in their own way. This beautiful city was called Ani and it was the capital of the famous Bagratoonee (Bagratidae) kings whose glorious rule over Armenia lasted from 859—1079 A.D.

This world-renowned city which was the envy of the Greeks and of the Saracens owing to its great wealth, beauty and magnificence, to say nothing of its impregnability, fell, after many vicissitudes never to rise again, before the hordes of the notorious Chengiz Khan who completed its ruin in 1238 A.D. when the invaders—those human monsters from Central Asia—entered the city after a good deal of resistance, and with a knife in either hand and a third one between their teeth, made the streets of Ani simply run with blood, and the river Akhoorean, which flows by the city, became red with the blood of the helpless citizens whose only crime was that they were *Christians*.

And a city that could be proud of a thousand and one places of divine worship, must naturally have had a very large population and which the ruthless invaders could not possibly have annihilated or exterminated entirely, for there were many who succeeded in miraculously extricating themselves from the jaws of death and escaping the fire and the sword of the savage Tartars.

These refugees fled on all sides, some went to the Crimea, others to Poland and Hungary, whilst a good many of the well-to-do citizens succeeded in reaching the hospitable banks of the Aras, a great river in South Armenia where they built themselves a nice city, which in the course of a very short time became, if not a second Ani, yet the *premier* city in Armenia by reason of its commercial importance, and the name of this place was Julfa.

Here the refugees from Ani prospered and flourished through their commercial activities, for they carried on an extensive trade between India and Europe by the overland route through Persia. But as history must repeat itself always, the peaceful and the prosperous Armenians of Julfa were evidently not destined to have peace there either, for after a fairly long period of prosperity, during which time they had amassed considerable wealth, they were suddenly called upon to share the sad fate of their helpless ancestors. But this time the thunderbolt fell upon them not from Central Asia, as in 1238 A.D. but from the immediate South, for one fine morning Shañ Abbas the Great of Persia appeared before the gates of the

* A paper read at the Eighth Meeting of the Historical Records Commission—Lahore, Nov. 1925.

city with a vast army (as he was fighting the Turks at that time), and grossly abusing the unexampled hospitality of the wealthy citizens who had accorded him a right royal welcome and thereby unwittingly excited his cupidity and avarice, he forthwith issued a stern mandate ordering all the inhabitants of that populous and prosperous Armenian city to leave their homes, on pain of death, and migrate to Persia within three days.

This terrible and blood-curdling tragedy which is faithfully chronicled by an eye-witness (Arakiel Vardapiet of Tabriz in Persia) was enacted in the year 1605 A.D. when the helpless inhabitants of Julfa, young and old, rich and poor, were actually driven out of their homes by their inhuman executioners and forced to cross the river Aras the best way they could, as the dilapidated bridge across the said river had just then collapsed owing to the heavy floods. With tears and lamentations that would have melted the hardest rocks, the helpless Armenians of Julfa abandoned their beautiful homes and their numerous churches and after untold hardships, 12,000 families, who had escaped the fury of the formidable and violent Aras and the rigours of the terrible and long journey across Persia, reached Ispahan, the then capital of Persia.

Here every kindness and hospitality was shown to them by that crafty Persian monarch, Shah Abbas the Great, and they soon built themselves a nice little city with 24 churches and a beautiful cathedral on the banks of the Zenderood, which flows by Ispahan, and they called it New Julfa in everlasting memory of their former home on the Aras, which it may be mentioned, had been consigned to the flames by the soldiery of Shah Abbas after the inhabitants had been driven out, so that they may for ever abandon the idea of ever returning there.

Prosperity which happily had never deserted them since their ancestors fled from Ani, followed them from the old to the new Julfa and they soon became the cynosure of all eyes and the envy of the indolent Persians by reason of their great wealth and affluence, thanks to their commercial genius and natural aptitude for trade and commerce. In this connection it may be mentioned that that shrewd monarch Shah Abbas, who evidently was a strong advocate of political economy, granted to his new subjects, the Armenians, all sorts of indulgences and privileges, social, religious and commercial, with a view to foster and to promote the trade and the commerce of his country, since his own subjects, the indolent Persians, by reason of their exclusiveness due in a great measure to religious fanaticism, were very backward in international commerce, as they would never go abroad, whereas the enterprising and the go-ahead industrious Armenians penetrated every corner of the globe in quest of commercial gain.

As has been stated above, Armenians of Julfa on the Aras traded extensively with India and Europe, and no sooner they had settled down at New Julfa, near Ispahan, that they continued to carry on their former trade, as if nothing unusual had happened, and commenced once more pouring Indian wares and commodities into the European markets and *vice versa*, whereby they were able in a very short time to amass considerable wealth to the great

joy and gratification of their royal patron, Shah Abbas, justly called the Great.

Amongst the many Armenian merchants of Julfa who traded with India during the XVII century, the name of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar stands pre-eminent, for it was he, who as the leading Armenian merchant in India came under the notice of the Honourable East India Company during the latter end of the XVII century when the British trade was still in its infancy in India.

But before proceeding with the interesting history of the British relations with the Armenians in India, it will be necessary to make a digression and review the early connection of the Armenians with India long before the advent of the English or other European nations into the country.

It may not be generally known that the Armenians—sons of a noble but ill-fated fatherland—whose love of commerce has been proverbial, have, from time immemorial, traded with India, whither they were allured from their distant homes in the snow-clad mountains of Armenia, by the glamour of the lucrative trade in spices, muslins and precious stones which they carried on successfully with Europe long before the advent of any European traders, adventurers and interlopers into the country.

They were the principal foreign traders in India and carried on an extensive trade with Europe through the Persian Gulf, as also through the Gulf of Arabia, and the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to exploit the trade of the country, tried to strangle by violence, as was their wont, the Armenian trade at the mouth of the two Gulfs but without any success, and what they failed to do by open violence and highhandedness, the cool-headed and the ever diplomatic English achieved by stratagem and non-violence.

The English merchants on their arrival in India in the early part of the XVII century, saw with grave concern that the Armenians—the pioneers of the foreign trade of India—were well established in the country and were carrying on an extensive, important and rather a lucrative export trade with Egypt, the Levant, Turkey and the Mediterranean ports, principally with Venice and Leghorn, through the Persian and the Arabian Gulfs, in Arab sailing vessels, for as is well known, the Arabs were great navigators in those days and their ships known as "buggalows," crossed the vast Indian Ocean and called at Sumatra, Java, the Phillipines and as far as China, and it was through these very Arab ships that the religion of the prophet of Arabia penetrated into Malaya, Sumatra and far-off Java. The goods that were shipped by the Armenians to the Persian Gulf ports were sent from thence overland through Persia and Turkey in Asia and thence to Europe, *via* Trebizond and Alexandretta (otherwise known as Iskanderon) whilst those that were shipped to the Arabian Gulf were likewise exported to Europe through Egypt. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Cape route was not known then, as it came into prominence only when Vasco-de-Gama, the pioneer of European adventurers found his way to India in 1498, although Columbus had set out with the same objective six years before, but had discovered America instead, so that it can be safely asserted that it was the

glamour of India, which in the hoary past had loomed large in the expeditions of a Semiramis and an Alexander, that led to the discovery of the New World which has played such an important part in the politics, civilisation, culture and the material advancement of the old world. And yet by an irony of fate and a perverse destiny, that great and illustrious Spanish navigator, who in his futile attempt to reach the shores of India, had, by a mere chance found an unknown Continent, equally rich, was treated ignominiously by his unappreciative and unpatriotic countrymen steeped in ignorance and bigotry, but then was not the immortal Galileo treated similarly? But I have digressed.

The English as is well known, had come by the Cape route to capture the trade of the Country, not by violence however, like their predecessors the Portuguese, but by peaceful penetration, so instead of being hostile and antagonistic towards the Armenian traders who were well established in the country and were at the same time great favourites at the Courts of the Moghul Emperors and their Viceroy, they saw the advisability, nay the absolute necessity of cultivating their friendship. The English merchants knew that by securing the collaboration and the help of the Armenians, they could thereby secure a footing in the country and it was to their advantage therefore to fraternise with them, with an ulterior motive of course, as later events will clearly show. They perceived that the Armenians, by reason of their old connection with the country, and their thorough knowledge of the different vernaculars and of the ways, the manners, the habits and the modes of thinking of the different races that inhabited India, could prove a veritable thorn on their side if they were not respected and treated gently, for only the astute sons of Albion know how to treat, nay handle, an Asiatic and their highly successful administration of this vast and rich country (India) with its millions of diverse races and creeds for the past 200 years is an eloquent proof of their being adept students of human nature.

And in order to avoid competition and rivalry with its concomitant evil effects, it was necessary therefore to gain the Armenians on their side as a valuable asset by peaceful methods of course, and they hit upon the right plan to achieve that end, and needless to add, they succeeded *par excellence*. The practical and the shrewd Britishers saw that the only superiority that they had over the Armenians in India was in their shipping, by reason of their being a purely maritime nation, and in virtue of that indisputable power, they soon set about to promulgate a scheme for alluring the unsuspecting Armenian traders into their net, and to their credit be it said, they succeeded *par excellence*, as will be seen shortly.

The importance and the extensiveness of the Armenian trade with Europe was naturally detrimental to their interests, but how could they possibly impede or obstruct the same, as they were not in a position to oust them by violence, for they were only a handful of merchants and had no military power at their back like their predecessors the Portuguese.

And even if they had the requisite military strength to turn all the Armenians out of the country, they would not have attempted to run such a great risk for fear of bringing on their heads the just wrath of the mighty

Moguls with whom the Armenians were great favourites, as is well known. In the circumstances they could not afford to jeopardise their position by being hostile and in any way antagonistic towards the Armenians who enjoyed the patronage, the protection and the friendship of the Mogul Emperors and their Viceroys and Governors all over India from the days of the great Akbar downwards. And where open violence would have failed, and failed ignominiously, diplomacy succeeded *par excellence*, thanks to the consummate skill of the few cool-headed but crafty gentlemen who presided over the destinies of the old East India Company, otherwise known as the "Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" which as every student of Indian History knows, was inaugurated on the 31st day of December 1599, during the reign of that truly great queen, Elizabeth.

As stated above, the English hit upon the right plan, for we find the "Company of London Merchants," after mature deliberations, making overt overtures to the Armenian merchants of India in 1688, through their illustrious leader, the famous Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, who happened to be in London at that time with his nephew, the well known Khoja Israel Sarhad, the future merchant—diplomat of India, to enter into an agreement with them to divert their extensive trade with Europe from the old channel into the new one round the Cape, exclusively through British shipping.

The bait took and the unsuspecting and ever-confiding Armenians fell into the snare, for a cleverly-worded Treaty was immediately drawn up between Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, representing the Armenian nation, and the Governor and the Company of London Merchants trading to the East Indies, and it was signed, sealed and delivered on the 28th day of June in the year 1688. Needless to add that the specious Treaty, or Charter, as it was called, in which British acumen is vividly shown, proved the *death knell* to the extensive and important Armenian trade in India, as future events clearly showed.

The benefits that would accrue to the Armenian nation under that memorable Treaty, seemed very alluring on paper of course, as the Armenians were to participate then and at all times in *all* the advantages that the Company granted to any of their own or other English merchants with respect to trade or otherwise within the Company's Charter. Great privileges were likewise allowed them for carrying their persons and their merchandise to and from Europe in the Company's ships. They were also allowed to reside and trade freely in the Company's towns and garrisons where they could hold *all* civil offices and employments, equally with the English. They were further allowed the free exercise of their own religion and the worship of God in their own way and as a further inducement, the English stipulated to give the Armenians ground for a church, to be first built at the expense of the Company wherever forty or more of the Armenian nation became inhabitants of any of the company's towns or garrisons.

The benevolent and the ever altruistic English even stipulated that they would not continue in their service any Governor who should in any way disturb or discountenance them (the Armenians) in the full enjoyment of their trade and privileges, which clearly shows that they were mortally afraid

to offend them in any way, lest they should lose their esteemed friendship and valued collaboration in the furtherance of their cause in the country. But later events proved conclusively the truth of the German Emperor's pithy remark that a treaty was nothing but simply "a scrap of paper."

The specious terms of the Treaty, or better still the Death Warrant of the Armenian trade in India had the desired effect, as they resorted in large numbers from other places in India to the Company's Settlements where they established themselves, built churches, most of which exist to this date, and carried on their usual trade with Europe.

Being the leading merchants in Asia, they contributed considerably to the increase of trade in the respective Settlements where they resided, and thereby added to the population thereto. They were of the greatest service to the Company's Agents and Factors in the disposal of their goods from England, as also in providing them with Indian merchandise for export to England. This is clearly seen in a communication from the Court of Directors to their Governor in India, under date the 13th September 1695 in which it is distinctly stated that "Multan and Scindy are brave provinces for many sorts of extraordinary good and cheap commodities; but whenever the Company shall be induced to settle Factories in those provinces, or any other way think to arrive at trade with them, otherwise than by Armenians, they would infallibly come off with great loss."

And with the gradual growth and expansion of the English trade in the country, it was deemed absolutely necessary to obtain further privileges from the Delhi Court, but how was that to be secured? Thanks to British acumen and resourcefulness, the valuable, nay indispensable, services of an Armenian were requisitioned and through him the historical and all-important "Grand Farman" which proved to be the "Magna Charta" of the English in India, was obtained from the Mogul Emperor Farrukh Siyar in 1717, of which more hereafter.

But before proceeding any further with the history of the cordial relations of the Armenians in India with their *confrères* the English, it will be necessary to publish the full texts of the Treaties, Agreements, Charters or better still, the Death Warrants, concluded by the astute Britishers with their formidable rivals, the Armenians, so that the unbiassed readers may be able to form their own opinion and draw their own inferences and conclusions therefrom, since these so-called Treaties have never received the publicity they deserved, and at one time their very existence was denied and they were produced with much reluctance, in 1772, when an honourable member of the House of Commons insisted on their immediate production. In this connection it may not be out of place to mention that a clever legal luminary Thomas Nuthall, who happened to be the Solicitor to the Company, tried to prove by force of untenable arguments that the Treaties were null and void, inasmuch as they had been concluded by the old Company, although the old Company had legally and by an Act of Parliament surrendered all its rights, title, interests, assets and liabilities in India to the new Company formed in the reign of Queen Anne of England.

The following is a copy of the famous Treaty, the original of which can still be seen in the archives of the India Office in London.

Copy of an Agreement made between the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, and the Armenian Nation, dated 22nd June 1688.*

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, to all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

"Whereas representation hath been made to us by Sir Josiah Child, Baronet, our Deputy-Governor, that, upon long conferences by him had with Cogee Phanoos Calendar, an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of Isphahan in Persia, as also with Sir John Chardin of London, Knight, they had, on behalf of the Armenian nation proposed to him several particulars for carrying on a great part of the Armenian trade to India and Persia, and from thence to Europe, by way of England, which will redound greatly to his Majesty's advantage in his customs and to the increase of the English navigation, if the Armenian nation might obtain such license from this Company as will give them encouragement to alter and invert the ancient course of their trade to and from Europe. And we being always willing to increase and encourage the public trade and navigation of this kingdom, after a serious debate of all the propositions relating to this affair, have thought fit to agree and resolve as follows, *viz.*:

First.—That the Armenian nation shall now, and at all times hereafter, have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this Company have or shall at any time hereafter grant to any of their own Adventurers or other English merchants whatsoever.

Secondly.—That they shall have free liberty at all times hereafter to pass and repass to and from India in any of the Company's ships on as advantageous terms as any free man whatsoever.

Thirdly.—That they shall have liberty to live in any of the Company's cities, garrisons, or towns in India, and to buy, sell, and purchase land and houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments in the same manner as they were Englishmen born, and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare that we will not continue any Governor in our service that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them, neither shall they pay any other or greater duty in India than the Company's factors, or any other Englishman born, do, or ought to do.

Fourthly.—That they may voyage from any of the Company's garrisons to any ports or places in India, the South seas, China or the Manillas, in any of the Company's ships, or any permissive free ships allowed by the Company, and may have liberty to trade to China, the Manillas or any other ports or places within the limits of the Company's Charter upon equal terms, duties and freights with any free Englishman whatsoever.

*See Reports of the House of Commons, 1772 and 1773, Vol. 3rd, page 283.

But whereas all persons in England do pay for bullion outwards two per cent. for freight and permission, and three per cent. homewards for diamonds and other precious stones, it is hereby declared and agreed, that the Armenians shall pay three per cent. outwards for bullion and two per cent. homewards for diamonds; for coral and amber-beads they shall pay six per cent. for freight and permission and for coral, amber, raw-cochineal, quick silver, sword blades, fire arms of all sorts, haberdashery wares, iron of all sorts wrought or unwrought, paper, all sorts of stationery wares, English looking or drinking glasses and for all sorts of Norimbergh wares and merchandises, ten per cent. for permission and six pounds per ton freight.

That all sorts of leather and Venitian wares and merchandises may be shipped out permission free, paying only six pounds per ton freight. For all cloth or woollen manufactures of what kind or sort so ever, they pay twelve and one half per cent. in lieu of all charges whatsoever, excepting in the freight and the Company's customs in India. For lead ten per cent. permission and three pound per ton freight. For provisions of all sorts for eating and drinking, six pounds per ton freight, but no permission. And for all sorts of goods homeward bound they shall pay in manner and form following, *viz.*, for diamons, pearls, rubies, all sorts of precious stones, and ambergris, two per cent. freight and permission as aforesaid. For musk of any kind six per cent. for freight and permission for pepper one penny per pound, and for coffee ten per cent. permission, besides freight. For all raw silk of Persia, twenty-one pounds per ton freight, but no permission, custom or any other charges whatsoever, excepting only two and one-half per cent. towards demurrage of our ships. For all goods whatsoever of the growth and manufacture of Persia (red Carmenia wool excepted, which is hereby totally prohibited) ten per cent. permission and the same freights as the Company themselves pay, without any other charges whatsoever. For all sorts of China and Bengal goods, during the Company's indulgence for those kinds of goods, and no longer, in what place soever laden. Thirteen per cent. for permission and all other charges, whatsoever, over and above the same freight as the Company pay, and the customs hereafter mentioned, *viz.*, all goods outward and homeward bound are to pay the Company in East India five per cent. custom on the first cost as per invoices of the said goods, whether they be laden from or delivered into any of the Company's ports or places, or into any other ports or places whatsoever, excepting only from this article all bullion, diamonds, and other precious stones, ambergris, musk and raw Persian silk. And it is agreed, that the permission money and freight for all goods outward bound to be paid in India as aforesaid shall be accounted for at eight and one-half rupees per pound sterling, upon hypothecation of the goods to the Company in London. And we do declare that for ease of accounts, the custom due to the Company in East India is to be included, together with the other charges, *viz.*, freight and permission according to the premises and all inserted in one sum upon the respective bills of loading which sum is always to be paid before the delivery of the goods to the persons mentioned in the said bills of loading which is the true intent of the hypothecation before expressed. That all goods which have once paid custom are

not to pay any again, either upon importation or exportation of the same goods to the place where they first pay it, or to any other port or place belonging to us in the East Indies. That every person that shall take passages on any of the Company's ships shall pay in East India twelve pounds sterling for his permission outwards, at the rate of eight rupees and one half per pound sterling; and the like sum to be paid here for every person that shall take passage homewards, besides eight pounds per head for sea provisions, which is hereby agreed shall always be paid in London. And for such persons who shall board at the Captain's table, they shall pay ten guineas to the Captain for the same. But the servants shall be messed apart by themselves, and always have the same allowance of ship-provisions as the officers and the seamen of the ship have or ought to have. And it is also granted to the said Armenians that the passengers shall be allowed, both out and home, to carry with them their wearing cloaths, furniture and provisions, not exceeding one quarter of a ton for each man, freight free. And whereas the said Armenians have used to drive a great trade from India to Turkey, overland, by way of Persia and Arabia, and are now desirous to drive that whole trade by the way of England, it is hereby declared and agreed. That the said Armenians have liberty to send upon any of the Company's ship for England, any sorts of goods of East India consigning to the Company by true invoices and bills of loading, and not otherwise, paying ten per cent. permission on the value of the said goods in London, besides the same freight as we ourselves pay. And it is hereby declared that the Company have liberty to detain and keep in their possession all such goods as shall be consigned unto them as aforesaid, until they have shipped them off upon English shipping, bound to Turkey, Venice or Leghorn and taken security that they shall not be landed in any other ports or places of Europe except the place to which they shall be directed by the said Armenian proprietor or their agents. And, lastly, it is declared and agreed, that notwithstanding anything aforesaid it shall and may be lawful for the said Company to reserve and keep for their own use any of the said goods so intended for Turkey as aforesaid paying the proprietors one third part clear profit on the first cost as aforesaid; all freight, charges, and disbursements whatsoever being first deducted and foreprized, eight rupees in India being in this case to be accounted for one pound sterling. In witness whereof, the Governor, Deputy-Governor and three of the Committee of the said Company have hereunto set their hands and caused the larger Seal of the said Company to be fixed, this two-and-twentieth day of June, Anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

BENJAMIN BATHURST,
Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,
Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.
JOHN MOORE.
GEORGE BOUN.

Simultaneously with the above, another Treaty, equally alluring, was concluded with the Armenians by the English, of which the following is a true copy:—

“The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies to all to whom it may concern, send greeting. Whereas it had been represented to us, that the Armenian nation have a desire to carry on a trade and commerce with our people in the East Indies, we do for the better encouragement of that nation to settle and cohabit in the several garrisons, cities and towns in the East Indies under our jurisdiction, by these presents declare, grant and agree, that whenever forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only have and enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion but there shall also be allowed to them a parcel of ground to erect a church thereon for the worship and service of God in their own way. And that we will also at our own charge, cause a convenient church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone and other solid material to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein.

Given under the Company's larger Seal, as also under the hands of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and three of the Committee of the said Company this two and twentieth day of June, Anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. Defender of the Faith, etc.”

BENJAMIN BATHURST,
Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,
Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

And in order to please the illustrious representative of the Armenian nation, through whose great influence and strenuous efforts the important negotiations had been so successfully concluded, the magnanimous English, in a fit of unexampled generosity, granted the sole Monopoly of the Garnet trade in India to Khojah Phanoos Kalandar and to his descendants after him, as set forth in the following Treaty, in which they naively say that it was granted in compliance with his “request.” Here is the Treaty:—

“The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, to all whom it may concern send greeting. “Whereas Cogee Phanoos Calendar, an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of

Isphahan, in Persia, hath taken great pains in making an agreement with the said Company for a great trade to be carried on in English shipping by himself and others of the Armenian nation; the said Governor and Company in consideration thereof do, by these presents (at the request of the said Cogee Phanoos Calendar) freely grant unto him and his family the sole trade of Garnet, he paying ten per cent. custom for the same, and the usual freight paid by the Company. And the said Company do hereby declare that they will neither trade in the said commodity themselves, nor suffer any other persons, English or stranger, for the future to trade or traffick in that commodity.

Given under the Company's larger Seal, as also under the hands of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and three of the Committee of the said Company, this two-and-twentieth day of June, anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. Defender of the Faith, etc.

BENJAMIN BATHURST,
Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,
Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

Here again British suavity asserts itself in a most pronounced manner, for although they admit, and admit they must, that they were granting him the monopoly of the garnet trade in India in consideration of the "great pains" he had taken "in making an agreement with the said Company for a great trade to be carried in English shipping by himself and others of the Armenian nation" yet at the same time, and without any fear of contradicting themselves, they do not hesitate, or blush, to place him under an obligation to the Company by granting his request in a most magnanimous manner. Pray tell me gentle reader in what part of the civilized world can remuneration for valuable services rendered be at any time considered or construed as a favour or an act of grace, if not charity? Is not the labourer worthy of his hire, then why confound wages justly earned with charity? When you pay a labourer his wages, do you for a moment think that you have given him charity or done him a great favour? But then the honourable gentlemen who were signatories to the Treaty concluded with the noble and illustrious Armenian, say without the least compunction, that it was "at the request of the said Cogee Phanoos Calendar" that the monopoly was granted, as if he were an ordinary concession-hunter or a mercenary, simply striving for self-aggrandizement at his nation's expense, when as they admit, he was "a merchant of eminency and the head of the Armenians in India."

I am however inclined to think that instead of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar asking the English for any favours which would have been *infra dig*, for the proud and the magnanimous Armenian, the English Company, with a view to ingratiate themselves with the great Armenian, must have specially asked him to do them the honour of accepting a small present in the shape of an insignificant monopoly as a memento of the auspicious friendship just begun, if not for the valuable services rendered by that illustrious Armenian to the British cause in India. That the English greatly appreciated and valued the friendship of that remarkable Armenian magnate is evident from the fact that when they were sadly in need of soldiers for the protection of their several important factories in India, principally at Surat, they approached Khojah Phanoos Kalandar again for help and collaboration, as the following communication from the Court of Directors in London to their "Deputy and Council of Bombay" under date the 26th January 1692, will clearly show:—

"Stores of all kinds wee have sent you by this ship, the *Modona*, and what souldiers wee could possibly procure. But it is very difficult to get any at this time while the King (William III) has occasion for such vast numbers of men in Flanders. Among those wee send great mortality has happened, as well in their passage out as after their arrival, which has put us on discourse with the Armenian Christians here, to see if by their means wee could procure some private souldiers of their nation from Ispahan, which wee should esteem, if wee could get them as good as English. Not that they have altogether the same courage which Englishmen have, but because by their conduct they are now so united to the English nation, and particularly to this Company, that in effect wee and they have hut the common interest. They are very near to our national and reformed religion, as sober temperate men, and know how to live in health in a hot climate. Coja Panoos Kalandar tells us it will be difficult to get any considerable number of them to be souldiers: they are universally addicted to trade, but some few, he thinks, may be picked up at Surat and he will write to his friends at Julpa [Julfa] to see if they can persuade any from thence to come to you to make an experiment of their entertainment, and of their liking or dislike of the service."

The same communication, in which the original spelling has been carefully preserved, goes on to say:—"If you can procure any Armenian Christians to be souldiers, wee doe allow you to give them the same pay as our English souldiers and forty shillings gratuity and the charge of their passage from Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) to Bombay, wee would not have above fifty or sixty in our pay at one time, and if you had the like number of Madagascar slaves to teach the exercise of arms and to do some inferior duty under our English souldiers, being listed upon an English Captaine kept in a Company by themselves under the Dutch manner, and allowing them a competent proportion of rice, a red capp and red coat and some other trifles to please them, not having above fifty or sixty at a time, and they never to have a custody of their own armes, wee hope such a contrivance might be a good Auxiliary aid to our own garrison, especially when English souldiers are scarce and wee need some balance of power. For take it as an infallible

constant rule, that the more castes the more safety and the less danger of mutiny. Wee know their is a necessity for increasing our English souldiers and wee will doe it as soone and as much as wee possibly can. In the meantime, Armenian Christians if you could have them are the very best men to be trusted and next to them Madagascar Coffrees." From this it will be seen that the Armenians, and Khojah Phanoos Kalandar in particular, were held in high esteem by the Court of Directors for their strong attachment to the Company and their unswerving loyalty to the British cause in India.

It may not be generally known that the first English Factory was opened in 1612 at Surat, the premier city then in Western India, by the permission of the Emperor Jehangeer, that devotee at the shrine of Bacchus who had left the reins of the vast Government in the able hands of his famous queen, that remarkable Persian lady known to fame and history as Nur Jahan (the light of the world).

And it was at Surat, where the Armenians had settled since the halcyon and palmy days of Akbar, the patron of their nation, that the English first came in contact with these remarkable merchants from distant Armenia, who were the premier merchants in that important emporium of Indian trade during the XVII century.

Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, the "Armenian merchant of eminency" as the English call him, was a native of Julfa (Ispahan) but had settled down at Surat and his only son's grave in the Mortuary chapel at the Armenian cemetery, adjoining the old Dutch graveyard of that place, can be seen to this day, bearing an inscription in classical Armenian, of which the following is a translation: "This is the tomb of Kalandar, the son of Phanoos Kalandar of Julfa, who departed this life on Saturday, the 6th day of March 1695."

It may be mentioned, *en passant*, that this is the only grave inside the Mortuary Chapel in the Armenian Cemetery at Surat which was visited by the writer of these lines in January 1908 when about two hundred epitaphs in the classical Armenian language, dating from the middle of the XVI century right up to the first quarter of the XIX century, were rescued from oblivion and inevitable loss from the Armenian cemetery, as also from the dilapidated church, the roof of which had fallen. It is however, sad to reflect that there are no Armenians left now in that once flourishing and historic city, whereas in the palmy days of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, it was the most important centre of the Armenian trade in India.

Alas for departed glory and the vicissitudes of time! for by an irony of Fate, the beautiful Armenian church of good old Surat, with its historical associations, was, in the absence of devout worshippers, found in the indisputable possession of thousands of owls, crows, bats, rats, snakes and scorpions which howled, screeched and hissed ominously as the present writer, at the risk of his life, entered the sacred edifice where his revered grandfather, Seth Mackertich Agazar Seth, had worshipped during the last quarter of the XVIII century.

But I have digressed from the subject-matter of this Memoir-Historic Surat, the birthplace of British rule in India, contains amongst other notable graves, that of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar's only son, but despite ceaseless and

strenuous efforts in the thorny fields of antiquarian research, I have not yet been able to find either the time or the place of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar's death, for he is certainly not buried at Surat, where, as we have seen, his only son found a last resting place in 1695. He may perhaps have died in London where he had gone in 1688 with his nephew—the future diplomat Khojah Israel Sarhad—or he may most probably have returned to Julfa, his birth-place, and there slept with his forefathers.

His only son Kalandar, who died at Surat in 1695, could not have left any male issue, for I have not yet been able to find the grave of another Kalandar either at Surat or at Bombay, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Gwalior, Bhopal, Lucknow, Patna, Benares, Sydabad, Hooghly, Chinsurah, Calcutta, Dacca, Madras, Mylapore, Musulipatam, Pondicherry or Hyderabad, where wealthy Armenians lived and died during the XVII and XVIII centuries. Although there are no lineal descendants of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar in the male line, yet there are in the present day, several prominent and well-known Armenians in India and elsewhere who can claim descent from him through his daughter, who had married Khojah Minas of the noble family of Khojah Eminiaz of Julfa. Their only daughter, Hripsimah, married Satoor Phanoos Tharkhan of the well-known Shookhoorean family of Surat. Satoor Tharkhan had come over from Surat and settled in Calcutta where he died in 1761, aged 36 years, and his grave can be seen in the Armenian churchyard of Nazareth to this day, with an inscription in classical Armenian. His widow, Hripsimah, after marrying a second time, died in 1770, and was buried next to her husband in the Calcutta Armenian Church. Her second husband, Moses, who by the way was a relation of hers, survived her by three years and died, evidently of a broken heart in 1773, and is also buried in the Armenian churchyard of Calcutta, next to her, so that by a strange coincidence, Hripsimah, the grand-daughter of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, lies buried between her *two* devoted husbands, which should be a great consolation to her soul in the next world. Satoor Tharkhan's daughter Begoom, by his wife Hripsimah, was born in 1755 and she married the famous Agah Catchick Arrakiel of Calcuta in 1771.

For a fuller account of the achievements of the early Armenian Settlers in this country, see the "History of the Armenians in India" by the present writer.

MESROVB J. SETH.

CALCUTTA,
18th May, 1926.

Influence of Sea-Power on the Consolidation of the Position of the English on the East*

THE prologue to the foundation of the British Empire in India was enacted nearly 300 years ago on the sea. If the sea to-day is the greatest asset of the world-power of England, it was all along the principal agency of the creation of such a power. The utility of sea-power in the Indian world of the 17th century may conveniently be studied under four different headings. (1) The great service it rendered to save the Company's trade and possessions from the hatred and bitter enmity of the rival European Companies and adventurers, deserves first and primary consideration. (2) The convenient means of communication that sea-power furnished to the many factories of the Company stationed at the different parts of the extensive sea-board of India, is by no means a negligible factor. Its utility in this respect may be estimated by a reference to the danger which beset inland traffic during the period under review. (3) The protection of the Company's shipping from the rapacity of pirates devolved upon the English sea-power of the time a specific duty of onerous nature. (4) Lastly, the Company owed to it the protection of their interests in India as against the jealousy and constant interference of the country powers especially the Great Mughal. An undisputed mastery of the sea exposed the trade of the Indian powers and the ships conveying annual pilgrims to and from Mecca to the mercy of the English ships, and furnished them available means of retaliation for wrongs sustained on shore.

I. Of these four-fold services which went a great length towards establishing an Empire in India, the most effective and far-reaching in consequence is the stubborn fight and constant watch that the early pioneers had to put up against the impetuous hatred and rivalry of the Portuguese and the protracted and insidious enmity of the Dutch. From the first day of the attempted landing at Surat till 1635, the struggle with the Portuguese was one unceasing and most annoying in character. In 1608, Captain Hawkins of the ship *Hector* brought to anchor the first English vessel at Surat (1). In September of the same year, the Northern Armada (2) of

*A certain phase of this subject has been dealt with by Prof. J. Holland Rose, Litt. D. in a masterly article in the September, 1924, issue of the *Journal of Indian History*. The learned writer confined his treatment of the subject to the period between 1746-1802. The purpose of the present article is to show that the real crises which the English sea-power averted and thus made it possible for the early English pioneers to effect that steady progress which eventually led to an Empire, belong to the 17th century. It was the stage of infancy which put it to a most crucial test of its usefulness.

(1) Selections from the letters, despatches, etc. preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Home Series, Edited by Forrest, Introduction, page 1.

(2) Orme, *Historical Fragments*, page 320.

the Portuguese consisting of 40 sail of grabs and gallivats came into the road threatening to burn the city and all its vessels if the English ship and all that belonged to her were not sent away. "Hawkins hastened her despatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portuguese, who seized his long boat, with goods to a considerable amount and 27 men whom they kept prisoners." The period 1612-1615 was one in which the fate of the English attempt to settle in Western India hung more than once in the balance (3). One resolution, firm and sure, actuated the Portuguese, and that was not to allow a rival to have a footing in India and crushing his very first venture. The English were not to be allowed to have their first landing at Surat. This, however, made them look for an alternative place of landing and the result was the discovery of the famous Hole of Swalley. Even there Captain Best (1612) was attacked by an overwhelming number of Portuguese ships whom after four successive naval engagements he utterly defeated to the great astonishment of the natives, (4) for they had hitherto considered them to be invincible.

Two years later (1614) Captain Downton reached Swalley with "four gallant ships and 400 gallant men". The Captain soon placed himself at the head of a large number of ships. This roused the Portuguese to a supreme effort and as soon as the Viceroy could collect his entire force at Daman, he sailed to the north with the intention of first crushing the English intruders (5). It was a glorious sea-fight that the English won. The Portuguese too fought with conspicuous courage. "The gallants of the Portugals army were in the business" (6). This together with the partial success of the mission of Sir Thomas Roe at Agra obtained for the English a momentary respite. They were, however, soon in a desperate condition, 'threatened by the Portuguese, plundered by local officials, and in imminent danger of expulsion' (7). It is only the dread of the guns of the fleet and fear of retaliation upon Indian traders that caused the Mughal authorities to hesitate in taking vigorous measures for their expulsion. The next attack of the Portuguese on a big scale was effected on December, 28, 1620. Archibold Jemison's account of the naval fight off Jask may be here recorded (8). "God so dealt that they had the overthrowe for we had but '300 men slaine this daye, and one that was hurte. But our Capitaine (Andrew Shillinge) received one shoote on his lefte shoulder to our great grieve, who was the first that was hurte, he beinge one the halfe decke... Our Capitaine was very ille, and desired us to pray for him...and at 6th

(3) Letters Received by the E. I. Company from its own Servants, Vol. II, Introduction, page i.

(4) Report on the Old Records of the India Office—Sir George Birdwood, page 209.

(5) The Portuguese Armada under the Viceroy of Goa, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, was served by about 6,000 natives and 2,600 Europeans, and their ordnances numbered 134 pieces as against 80 of the English.—Orme, Historical Fragments, page 348.

(6) Dispatch of Captain Downton to the Company.—Letters received by the E. I. Co. from its own Servants, Vol. II, page 186.

(7) The English Factories in India, Vol. I, Introduction, page ix.

(8) Marine Records, Vol. XXXII, page 226.

(January 6, 1621) he departed at noone." Thus the 'pride of Portugall armado' under Ruy Freire de Andrade was crushed. The last words of the dying Captain had the savour of 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

These victories so consolidated the position of the English on the west coast of India that they could take up the offensive against the Portuguese far and wide, and extend their trade to Persia. On the 23rd of April, 1622, after a month's operation, the Portuguese naval flag fluttered down from over Albuquerque's castle at Ormus before a joint Anglo-Persian naval attack. Ormus was erased for ever from the list of the Eastern possessions of Portugal(9). Not long after followed a three months' blockade of Goa by a joint English and Dutch fleet (10). The Portuguese had thus the mortification of seeing their principal settlement blockaded. Community of religious feeling perhaps moved the two powers, the English and the Dutch, to combine against the common enemy. Again on October 15, 1626, they made a joint attack on Bombay. "In the morningn stood in and landed of the Eingles and the Duches sum 400 meane at the leaste and tocke the forte and cassell and the towne, and sett fire of it and all the towne..." (11). These repeated insults stirred the Portuguese to their utmost exertion, and the English and the Dutch had, for a time, to be on the defensive to protect their position in India. A great Portuguese fleet was collected at Goa under Nuno Alvarez Botelho. This was by far the most formidable squadron that had yet appeared in the Persian waters. The English and the Dutch kept together. Series of combats followed, but the results remained indecisive, a sure indication of the growing weakness of the Portuguese power in the East (12). One of the last engagement fought with the Portuguese was in 1630-1631 when Captain Morton's fleet on arriving at the coast of India found itself faced by a force of about 30 Portuguese frigates. "But such was the undauntedness of our English, being stirred up to a high measure of furie by the hourly vexations and braveings of the enemy, as being now come within shot, with a general resolution rejoyceing att that occasion...pushed on in the very face and mouth of all their ffrigates the Vice-kings sonne narrowly escaped. Victory was pursued with great slaughter both at shore and at sea...returned at length with 27 Portuigalls prisoners taken alive, with the losse of one ancient man and the wounding of 7 more people" (13). The President and Council at Surat further wrote, "this added more to our nation's fame then hath all our sea-fights formerly acquired here in India" (14). Recollections of the

(9) This naval engagement and its sequel is fully depicted in Purchas's Pilgrimage, Vol. II, pages 1787-1805.

(10) Factory Records, Vol. II, Introduction, page xi.

(11) Ships Journals preserved in the India Office and quoted by Sir G. Birdwood in his Report on Old Records of the India Office.

(12) Arber's Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers Company, Vol. IV, page 137. Also Factory records, Vol. III, pages 46-54.

(13) Surat Letters—President Rastell and Council to Mr. Mounteny, etc., page 11.

(14) Factory Records, Vol. IV, page 122.

engagement still lingered in 1674 when Dr. John Fryer visited Surat. "The long lived people at Swally remember a notable skirmish betwixt the English and Portugals there, wherein they were neatly trapped...they were compelled between them and the ships in the road to resign most of their lives, and they gave by their fall a memorable name to a point they yet call Bloody Point for this very reason" (15).

The Portuguese power of resistance, for reasons obvious, declined, and in 1635 they were glad to sign the Treaty of Madrid at the initiation of President Methowld. The quarrel which commenced with the first coming of the English and which produced a bitter hostility lasting nearly 30 years now subsided. The pacification thus concluded lasted till the present time. The English sea-power thus tamed and disarmed one of their earliest and greatest rivals in the East.

If the enmity of the Portuguese was open and determined, that of the Dutch was more harassing and exhausting. So long as the Dutch were weak and their competition a negligible quantity, the merchants were on excellent terms, but with accession to their strength and funds the aspect of affairs entirely changed. The newly founded Republic regarded its oriental trade as the very sinews of life and existence. This accounts for the steady progress they made in the Archipelago and the stubborn and often successful resistance they offered to the English when the latter made a bid for a share in the lucrative spice-trade of the Indian Archipelago. All throughout the 17th century the ceaseless annoyance to which the English sailors and traders were put in the Eastern seas called loudly for vengeance. "It was fortunately, however, for England that their early opposition to us at Bantam and Amboyna led to our transferring the seat of the English E. I. Co. from the Indian Archipelago to the continent of India" (16). The massacre of Amboyna, fraught with important subsequent results as it was, for the moment entirely damped the spirit of the Company's employees. Thus wrote one of them about the time, "the Dutch on the Eastern Coast did everything to discoradge or weary out our employer, and to graspe this trade in their only manadging. In their glories they laugh in their sleeves at our present miseries. Our employment on the present footing is neyther beneficial to our maisters, credit to our nacion, nor content to ourselves" (17). The disaster that thus overtook the English traders in the Archipelago made them turn the prow of their ships towards the north. The Coromandel coast, as well being not entirely free from Dutch depredations, the English moved further north, and with the help of the fleet planted new factories in Orissa and Bengal at Hariharpur, Balasore, Pipli and then at Hugli (18). For sometime the civil war in England had its damaging effect on the Company's shipping in the Indian seas. Thus about the middle of the century, the Company was suffering

(15) Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. I, page 224 (Haklyt Society).

(16) Sir George Birdwood—*Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, page 192.

(17) *Factory Records*, Vol. II, page 121.

(18) *Factory Records*, Vol. IV, Introduction, page vii.

severe losses at the hands of the Dutch. The latter could not attack the English factories, for fear of offending the monarchs in whose dominions these were situated; but they diligently scourged the high seas and captured English vessels wherever they could find them. In the middle of February, 1653, the Roebuck and Laneret encountered on their way to Surat, 3 Dutch ships and were taken after a slight resistance (19). Further, the Blessing, the Supply and the Dove fell into the hands of the Hollanders. The Falcon, Welcome and the Dove were attacked by 5 Dutch ships off Laribandar with the result that the Falcon was captured and the Endeavour, whom the former had rescued, was sunk (20). The other two ships made good their escape.

At length the great Protector was wearied out of all patience with the Dutch on account of their long accumulated cruel injuries against the Company. He declared a naval war against them and prosecuted it with such vigour that the Dutch were soon constrained to sue for any terms the Protector might please to offer. The treaty of Westminster was signed, 1654, and they agreed to restore Pulo Roon, pay an indemnity of £85,000 to the Company and a further sum of £3,615 to the heirs and executors of the victims of Amboyna. This fair prospect, however, was obscured by the Restoration in England. Once it was projected in England to open a subscription to fit cut privateers against the Dutch in the East (21). It did not certainly materialise. The Company's position became day by day so desperate that in 1663-64 there was "great talke of the Dutch proclaiming themselves in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffick there to all ships, but their own upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad" (22). Again under date 15th February, 1663-64 we have, "this afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlain came to the office to me and shewed me several letters from the East Indys, shewing the height that the Dutch are come to there, shewing scorn to all the English, even in our own factory at Surat, beating several men, and hanging the English standard St. George under the Dutch flag in scorn; saying that whatever their masters do or say at home they will do what they list and be master of all the world there; and have so proclaimed themselves soveraigne of all the South Seas; which certainly our king cannot endure, if Parliament will give him money" (23). But the king endured much more; for the first time since the days of the Danes, the boomings of the Dutch guns in the Thames perturbed the tranquility of English men and women; and the humiliating treaty of Breda not only undid all that Cromwell had obtained for his nation, but marked the lowest stage of degradation into which the Company had sunk during the time. The country-powers were not slow to realise this position. The years between 1667 to 1688 furnish an unbroken record of the Company's factories in the Archipelago being sacked, their agents assassinated and

(19) Factory Records, Vol. VII, Introduction, page xvii.

(20) Tavernier who was on board a Dutch ship has preserved a lively description of the encounter. Tavernier, *Balls Edition*, Vol. I, page 312.

(21) Factory Records, Vol. VII, Introduction, page xvii.

(22 & 23) Pepys' Diary, 9th and 15th February, 1663-64.

themselves expelled from various places (24). The only redeeming feature was the completion of the forts York and Marlborough on the south coast of Sumatra to protect the island against the Dutch.

The accession of William of Orange to the English throne, to a great extent eased the situation, and for a time the entire energy of the two nations was being utilised against the ambition of Louis XIV. All throughout the 18th century the Dutch pursued the same narrow and exclusive spirit in the East with which they had begun their career there. From the first to the last the spice-trade of the Moluccas and Banda islands engrossed their attention. They failed and refused to understand the mighty changes occurring in the political arena of India, and remained the idle spectators of the march of events in the great continent—events which eventually paved the way of their rivals, the English, to Empire. Clive's victory at Plassey opened their eyes and they made a desperate effort to expel the English from Bengal, but they were ignominiously repulsed by Colonel Forde. Their maritime supremacy had passed into the hands of their hated rivals; and in the Napoleonic Wars, all their colonies in the East were lost to the vast sea-power organised by the Company and their Government at home, to oust the French and their henchmaid, the Dutch, from the Eastern Seas.

II. If there was necessity of defending the infant trade from the rivalry and rapacity of European powers, there was as much need of collecting materials of merchandise from the different parts of the country, of concentrating them at important sea-coast centres and then finally transporting them to Europe for the realisation of that great profit which was the principal motive of the early agility of the European powers. The vastness of the Indian sea-board and the growing number of ports from Gujrat to Hugli, pointed to the need of an efficient coasting traffic service. The two great emporiums of trade were Surat and Bantam, and the incoming and outgoing ships kept up a constant line of communication between the two headquarters and the subordinate factories under their jurisdiction. The general insecurity of the land-route during the period under survey made it incumbent to avoid the land as much as possible. The inland factories and the importance of some of them rendered transport by land often unavoidable. This was, however, always attended with risk. Thus a letter from Tulcidas, the Company's broker at Broach, informed that the English Caravan near Broach was plundered by 500 Rajputs, and that Abel Druce and Walter Kiddie were killed (25). In the same way is recorded the death of John Drake within a month of the previous occurrence (26). Again it is mentioned, "alike in Rajputana and Gujrat large band of robbers lurked in the hills, and caravans proceeding to the sea-coast were likely to be attacked unless strongly guarded...in Lower Sind the hill tribes gave much trouble:

(24) Sir George Birdwood, Report on the Old Records of the India Office, page 222.

(25) President Methowld's Diary, January 10th to March, 1637, Factory Records, Surat, Vol. I, page 526.

(26) Letter of Henry Branford at Rajapur to the President and Council at Surat, February 21, 1637.

in Gujrat the Kolis came plundering almost to the gates of Ahmedabad " (27). Peter Mundy in his wide " travels " in India, especially from Agra to Patna and back and from Agra to Surat, gives a graphic account of the depredations carried on by organised robbers, and this again inspite of the condign punishment to which the criminals were subjected (28).

It is this condition of inland traffic which pointed to the great work rendered by the English sea-power in arrying on coast-line transport service. By the year 1640, the Presideit and Council at Surat had at their disposal quite a fleet of small country built vessels with which to carry on the port to port trade, supply the various coast factories and collect goods to be transported to England in the ships that annually came from " home ", thus enabling the latter to return within a few months of their arrival (29). Moreover, the growing volume of trade in the East led England to experiment in building larger ships. " The Company's trade having now become much extended, their yards at Deptford was found too small for their ships and they therefore purchased some copyhold ground at Blackwall...where they opened another dockyard, and built the Royal James, of 1,200 tons, the largest merchant ship yet seen in England " (30).

III. Another great danger to which the trade of the English, and as a matter of fact of all powers in the East, lay exposed was the extensive piracy practised in the Eastern Seas. It was again that sea-power came handy to deliver trade from this great and general menace. " The northern parts of Malabar, Kanara, the Konkan were nets of pirates from early days down to quite modern times " (31). Piracy was being systematically practised in these parts from time immemorial. Thus says Pliny, " at the present day voyages are made to India every year; and companies of archers are carried on board, because the Indian Seas are infested with pirates " (32). Marco Polo describes at length the method of organised piracy carried on in these parts. " More than 100 corsair vessels cruised these seas annually. Those pirates take with their wives and children and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of 20 or 30 of these piate vessels together, and they form what they call a sea cordon, that is, they drop off till there is an interval of 5 or 6 miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like a 100 miles of sea, and no merchant vessel can escape them " (33).

(27) Factory Records, Vol. VI, Introduction.

(28) Mundy records that living marauders were built up in towers on road-sides as a warning to their compatriots.

(29) Report of President Methowl, Surat Records, page 241.

(30) Sir George Birdwood, Report on the Old Records of the India Office, page 217 under date 1640. It is worthy of note in this connection that the " The Great Henry " of the Royal Navy in 1622 was only about of 1,000 tons. The largest ship in Elizabethan navy the Triumph commanded by Frobisher was of 1,100 tons burden.

(31) Fryer's East India and Persia, Vol. I, page 164. Publication of the Hakluyt Society.

(32) Pliny, Natural History, Vol. VI, page 23.

(33) Marco Polo, Yule's Edition, Vol. II, page 324.

The Portuguese as late as 1673 used to equip two fleets annually, one to be sent to the south called Armada do Sul to purge the southern seas of the Malabar corsairs (34). The English in spite of their caution paid heavy tolls to these pirates. The Factory Records abound in stories of the havoc perpetrated by the Malabar pirates. The small vessels engaged in coasting traffic were the usual victims of piracy. In 1639 even so large a vessel as the *Mary* was attempted while going down the western coast. Early in 1640, President Frebleu wrote from Swalley to the Company, "have just learn, by letters from the Captain of Diu that 8 Malabar 'prowes' put to the sea and overtook the *Hope* whom they assaulted and surprised, emptied her of all fraught goods on her... The ship was taken back by Portugal Frigotts ...but not an Englishmen in her who in the fight were either slaine or captived" (35). In the same letter the President begs the Company for the supply of men and ammunition, "otherwise they must lay up these small vessels, rather then bury the nations honour in their ruines." The freight goods lost in the *Hope* are said to value Rs. 200,000 and the Englishmen on board the ship numbered 13. The same year no less than four more ventures were made on the Company's shipping. They sometime even ventured to sail down the river Tapti on which stood Surat. Their depredations these years became so alarming that in April 1642 Thomas Berry, the Factor at Gombroom (Persia), wrote to the Company, 'the depredations of the Malabar pirates had deterred many of the Indian jounckes (Junks) from venturing to that part. There being noe more jounckes come hither this year then 14 from all places, whereas in former yeares there hath come to this port 50, 60, or sometimes more. The Mallavars doe so infest the Indian seas that many are fearfull to adventure forth" (36). Contingencies of this nature necessitated all the resources of the English to be put forth to the sea for fighting this great and insidious enemy of trade and humanity. Sometime the Company's ships would effect a junction with those of the country powers and try to stop the growth of the evil. Sometime again their whole sea-power would be put to the sea for a considerable part of the year to clear the seas of pirates. The whole area affected used to be surrounded with ships in the manner the Marquis of Hastings dealt with the Pindaris on the land years after. The pirates were often hard hit, but the evil could not be entirely eradicated. It must, however, be said to the glory of the early English sea-power operating in Eastern waters that it succeeded in keeping the Company's shipping more or less free from the rapacity of the southern pirates.

IV. Lastly, it was the command of the sea which enabled the early English traders to adjust their relations with the country-powers in times of need. Whatever wrongs, and they were many, they suffered at the hands

(34) Accounts of Pyrard de Laval, Vol. I, 439f. The same is corroborated by Dr. Fryer—India and Persia, Vol. I, page 153 (Hakluyt Society).

(35) Factory Records, Vol. VI, page 289.

(36) Factory Records, Vol. VII, page 38. The Civil War in England undoubtedly, as shewn before, had much to do with this depressed condition all around.

of the Indian powers, they had their revenge on the sea. Sea-power enabled them to hold more than they otherwise expected in the mainland of India. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton, apprized of the hostile intention of the government of Surat, seized three ships which belonged to the city. This had the result of all Englishmen detained in the city being delivered into his hand. "This exertion produced compliments, provisions, and promises of trade" (37). The same experiment was repeated on a bigger scale by Hawkins in 1612, who, having returned to the Red Sea, seized all the ships that came from the coasts of India to Mocha. "The ransom of the ships from the Mughal's country was to compensate the injuries he had lately received at Surat. In 37 days he stopped and detained 15 ships" (38). The real fruit of this exertion was enjoyed by the commander of the next voyage, Captain Best, who forced the Governor of the city to sign a treaty highly advantageous to the English. "Imprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquitted and cleared to us; that they (the government) shall never make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our goods, wares, and merchandises, to satisfye for the same... All men and goods which may be taken by the Portugalls to be recovered by government without any charge...that in all questions of wrongs and injuries done to the English nation, justice be rendered without delay or exorbitant charge" (39).

In, November, 1620, the same remedy was applied by the Surat Council with considerable success when the forces of Malik Amber had ransacked and seized the English property within the state of Ahmadnagar. The English helped themselves by seizing a Deccan junk, and the Surat Council adopted a resolution that the next year 'another Red Sea voyage should be undertaken for the capture of Chaul and Dabhol ships' (40). In the next two or three years, both at Agra and in the Deccan, the situation of the English became extremely desperate, because of the retaliatory measures taken by them at sea to redress their losses on shore. Malik Amber, for the spoliation of the Dabhol junk, drove them from the south and laid an embargo on goods that the factors at Ahmadabad were preparing to send to Surat. At Agra complaints from the Sindh merchants led to the imprisonment of the factors Hughes and Parker and possession taken of their goods, money, papers, etc. President Rastell and the Council at Surat writing on May 11, 1622 to the Muslipatam factory thus describe the situation: "Such is the increased heighte of presente insolencie and our miserable thraldome per a troubled estate in the country as that besides the enforced restituition of 23,000 lares that were lawfully taken out of a Portugall vessel, and 10,200 rupees in satisfaction of certaine surprised provisiones else, whose worth could not amount to 1,000 at most, they have now full five months detained our merchants prisoners in Agra" (41).

(37) Orme, *Historical Fragments*, page 322.

(38) Orme, *Historical Fragments*, page 324.

(39) Voyage of Captain Best. Publication of the Hakluyt Society.

(40) Factory Records, Vol. I, Introduction, page xxx.

(41) Factory Records, Vol. II, pages 79 and 80.

Orders were given for the factors to withdraw from up-country, and together with those at Ahmadabad and Burhampur to get down to Surat by the appointed day. All this was part of a general scheme for the concentration of the factors at Surat and moving their entire sea-power to give effect to the long cherished plan of seizing all the Indian junks returning from the Red Sea and thus forcing a general redress of grievances. On February 27, 1623 commenced a bombardment of Dabhoul by the Company's ships, the *Blessing* and *Reformation*, for wrongs sustained from Malik Amber's troops. Junks of Dabhoul, Gogha, Diu and Surat fell by turns into the net kept ready on the sea to entrap them. Captain Hall anchored at Swalley, October 5, 1623, with eight Indian junks under his guns. President Rastell and his Council also embarked on the *William* with the avowed intention of not returning except upon the grant of terms to their liking (42). All this produced a general consternation, and Bahadur Khan, the Governor of Surat, declared that all the forces of the Mughal Empire were powerless against a single European ship. All attempts at retaliation having failed, the Governor was constrained to come to terms. The English got back most of their actual losses during the past few years; they were allowed to re-occupy their factories; several minor forms of oppressions were provided against; their goods were freed from land tolls, etc. Thus the English won all along the line. Next year the Emperor Jehangir, in retaliation for all that had happened, issued a firman "to the apprehending of our persons, restitution of our recoveries, and lastlie our expulsion out of his countrie... all of us imprisoned and in irons, etc." (43). The final agreement, which modified that of the previous year, still left the English in possession of much power and privileges.

Even Sivaji had often to check his otherwise unimpeded career before the gates of the Company's factories for fear of the invincibility of the English on the sea and the sure retaliation the latter were to have there for wrongs suffered on shore. In 1679, Sivaji had to feel the weight of this power when his armada was worsted off Henry Kenry and the place occupied in return for the wrongs that the factors sustained at Rajapur within Sivaji's territory (44). But never before or after was the position of the Company rendered more hopeless than when the Great Mughal, Aurangzeb, declared a war of expulsion against the English in 1688. Everywhere the factors were seized and put in fetters, their goods scattered and looted and the factory doors closed. In 1689, the Company retired from their factories in Bengal to Madras (45). In the same year, their factories at Vizagapatam and Masulipatam were seized by the Mughals and the factors massacred; and Bombay was pillaged up to the 'Castle Walls' by the Sidi of Jinjira (46). For the last time the English had more or less to abandon the country and

(42) Factory Records, Vol. II, page 283.

(43) Surat Letters, Thomas Rastell and Council to the Company—February 14, 1625, page 56.

(44) Surat Records.

(45) Sir George Birdwood, Report on the Old Records of the India Office, page 86.

(46) Sidi of Jinjira—Commander of the Mughal Fleet.

find shelter in their ships. There they were the entire master of the situation. The proposed bombardment of Chittagong and Balasore (47), the embargo laid on the ships conveying pilgrims to Hijjaj, the seizure of Mughal junks on both sides of the Indian Peninsula, and finally the bait held out by them to assist the Great Mughal in his naval war against the king of Arakan and the Portuguese pirates of the region, brought about a changed condition of things. The English recovered their lost power and prestige; and once again their sea-power obtained them a victory against the greatest of the country powers, and secured their interests in the land of India for all time to come.

P. C. MUKHERJI.

(47) Wilson--Early Annals of the English in Bengal.

The Begam of Moti Jhil.

GHASITI BEGAM,* the eldest daughter of Nawab Aliwardi Khan, filled a prominent place in the history of Bengal during the 18th century. With her life are intimately connected some of the incidents which led to the rupture between the English East India Company and Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, a rupture which culminated in the battle of Plassey, the downfall of the Nawab and the foundation of the British Empire in India.

Ghasiti was married by her father to his nephew Nawazish Muhammad Khan, who was made Governor of Dacca by the Nawab. Wild in his youth, Nawazish had settled down with age and, being childless, adopted as his son Ikram-ud-daula (Fazl Quli), the younger brother of Siraj, who became the only comfort of his life.

Zain-ud-din Ahmad (Haibat Jang), father of Siraj-ud-daula, had been killed by some mutinous Afghan mercenaries (1747), and with him too had perished his father, Haji Ahmad. Nawab Aliwardi, leaving aside the claims of his two surviving nephews Sayyid Ahmad the Governor of Purnea, and Nawazish Muhammad—proclaimed Siraj-ud-daula, as his heir in 1752.† From that time Nawazish began to reside chiefly at Murshidabad with his wife. Ghasiti hated Siraj, while Nawazish's ministers, Husain Quli and his successor Rajballav, appear to have been instrumental in setting up their master as a thorn in the path of Siraj's ambition. Siraj had good grounds to be apprehensive of his uncle, for Nawazish had vast riches and was very popular on account of his mild forgiving disposition and his extensive charities to the poor and friendless. But Nawazish was not destined to live long. Brooding over the death of his adopted son, he fell seriously ill, and his life was despaired of.

Aliwardi, who had already lost one of his nephews, was sorely grieved to learn the condition of Nawazish. He had him immediately brought to his palace, with his consort, and called in eminent physicians, but to no effect. Ghasiti, although actually in her father's house, trembled lest Siraj, her inveterate enemy, should confine her there, and she planned her escape. Putting herself in a covered chair together with her husband, she repaired to her own lodgings, where the patient ultimately died (December 1755).‡

* Ghasiti Begam, originally named Mihr-un-nisa (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 109), was popularly called Chhuti Begam, because her husband was known as the Chhuta Nawab. Later, she came to be called the Begam of Moti Jhil, owing to her residence in the Moti Jhil (Lake of Pearls).

†Scrafton's *Reflections*, p. 52.

‡*Mutaqherin* (ii. 127) gives the date of Nawazish's death as 13 Rabi II, 1169 H. (= 16 Jany. 1756). This is certainly incorrect, as Mr. Watts, the Chief of the English Factory at Cossimbazar, reported the death of the Chhuta Nawab in his letter, dated 17th December, 1755.—*Public Procdgs.* 20-12-1755, p. 534.

His body was carried to Moti Jhil, a country seat just outside the city of Murshidabad, which he had built and decorated, and here he was buried. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 127).

Aliwardi was afflicted with dropsy in his old age and began to sink rapidly. The reins of government virtually fell into the hands of Siraj-ud-daula. Nawazish was his avowed enemy, and Ghasiti with the hoarded wealth of her husband had retired to Moti Jhil. Siraj was in pressing need of money—one of the most powerful engines of war, and he cast longing looks on the property of his wealthy aunt. A pretext for quarrel was not wanting. He ordered his aunt to send him the severed head of Mir Nazir Ali, who had stained the honour of the royal family by frequent nightly visits to her bower. She loved Mir Nazir Ali and could not be expected to carry out this inhuman order.* The quarrel between her and Siraj now blazed forth. The old Nawab Aliwardi tried every means to reconcile them, but in vain.

Ghasiti feared—and with reason—that Siraj, once placed on the masnad of Murshidabad, would not only maltreat her, but would also rob her of her property. She declared for Murad-ud-daula (the infant son of Ikram-ud-daula), whom she had adopted as her sole heir, and set up her ward as a rival for the throne against Siraj. She distributed elephants and lakhs of rupees to the troops of her deceased husband and thus raised a large force. Then she fortified herself in the Moti Jhil castle with Nazir Ali.† She was materially assisted in these preparations by a very shrewd man, her diwan, Rajah Rajballav.

Immediately after the death of Nawazish, Siraj had called upon his minister—Rajballav—then at Murshidabad, for an account of his uncle's affairs, in order to ascertain the indebtedness of his estate to Government for the revenues of Dacca. But the faithful minister would not disclose anything detrimental to the interests of his mistress, and for this act he was kept under strict surveillance. He was, however, after a few days set at liberty at the request of Amina, the Nawab's mother.‡ Rajballav was fully aware that his devotion to the interests of his mistress had for ever prejudiced Siraj against him, and that the latter would take vengeance when he came to the throne. He, therefore, declared himself a partisan of Ghasiti Begam.

The end of the old Nawab was drawing near and Rajballav felt it very necessary to ensure the safety of his family and property then at Dacca. He immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Watts, the Chief of the English Factory at Cossimbazar, saying that his family in the course of their intended pilgrimage to the Jagannath Temple at Puri, would visit Calcutta, and begging permission for them to stay there for a couple of months.§

*Trans. of extracts from a MS. entitled *Revolutions in Bengal*, see Hill's *Bengal*, III. 217.

†*Mutaqherin*, ii. 156; Narrative of the Succession of Siraj-ud-daula, etc. by Governor Drake, dated 19 July, 1758.—Hill's *Bengal*, i. 119.

‡Letter from J. Z. Holwell to the Court of Directors, dated Fulta, 30 November, 1756.—Hill's *Bengal*, ii. 3.

§*Ibid.* 119-120.

Rajballav had considerable influence over Ghasiti, and his power at Dacca might be of the utmost consequence to the Company's affairs there. Moreover, Siraj was their enemy and Ghasiti was conspiring to thwart his ascent to the throne, and therefore if she succeeded it would be of great benefit to the English. As Rajballav was Ghasiti's right-hand man, the English Company readily consented to Rajballav's proposal, and gave a safe asylum to his family, including his son Krishna Das, on their arrival at Calcutta.

A long series of deaths favoured the accession of Siraj-ud-daula to the throne. He was now free from all possible rivals, except Murad-ud-daula, the protégé of Ghasiti Begam, and his cousin Shaukat Jang, the Governor of Purnea, who had succeeded his father Sayyid Ahmad (d. 6 Feby. 1756). But neither of these rivals was formidable, although their alliance might be dangerous. Shaukat Jang grew jealous of Siraj and, it was suspected, kept up a secret correspondence with Ghasiti. The British thought the accession of Siraj an impossibility owing to his evil reputation,—at any rate a disputed succession was anticipated in some quarters. Nawab Aliwardi set himself to avert this. In order to ensure the succession of his favourite grandson, he drew together on the side of Siraj the most influential people at his Court, including his kinsman Mir Jafar, who swore on the Quran to stand by him. But while labouring at the hopeless task of reconciling Siraj with his aunt Ghasiti, the old Nawab died on 10th April, 1756.

Aliwardi was scarcely buried when Siraj-ud-daula proclaimed himself Nawab of Bengal. The next day, to secure himself against his aunt, he surrounded the castle of Moti Jhil so completely that no one from outside could enter it. Strong for defence though the castle was, most of the Begam's troops, despairing of the succour promised by the Governor of Purnea, evacuated it on the third night. At this time Sharf-un-nisa, the widow of Aliwardi, entered the castle to persuade her daughter to make a peaceful surrender by assuring her of the security of her life, liberty and property. Ghasiti agreed to these terms, but demanded in addition that her lover, Nazir Ali, should be allowed to leave Bengal under a safe conduct. The young Nawab readily agreed.

Ghasiti was prevailed upon to disband her troops and return with her attendants to the harem of the Nawab. But on her arrival, she was immediately thrown into confinement, her officers and soldiers were pardoned and taken into Siraj's service, and her palaces and property seized and confiscated to the State.*

Having thus settled his score with the Begam to his entire satisfaction, Siraj now bought off the Wazir of Oudh, who had threatened an attack on Bengal, by means of a part of his aunt's wealth, which common report had magnified to 32 crores of rupees.

*Siraj's expedition to Moti Jhil,—*Mutaqherin*, ii. 185-86. Hill's *Bengal*, ii. 2; iii. 217-18.

Siraj had now to deal with Shaukat Jang, the Governor of Purnea, and the English, who had been allies of Ghasiti Begam. The English had not yet pulled down the fortifications around Calcutta, erected during the illness of Aliwardi, contrary to the established laws of the country. They had also harboured Krishna Das at Calcutta, who had carried off a fortune which partly belonged to Ghasiti,* and they had declined to surrender him at the Nawab's demand. These are two of the important reasons which animated Siraj against the English. He seized their Factory at Cossimbazar, marched upon Calcutta, and became master of Fort William (June 1756). The surviving English traders retired to Fulta, ordered up reinforcements from Madras, and waited for a suitable opportunity to wreak their vengeance.

Siraj next encountered the army of Shaukat Jang, who had not recognized his accession but raised the standard of rebellion. In the fight that ensued near Rajmahal, the Governor of Purnea was shot dead (16 Oct. 1756).

Siraj's triumph now seemed to be complete; but in reality his end was only hastened by the removal of every rival from his path. He had made himself sole master of his country and Court, but in so doing he had alienated several *grandees* of his Court, notably Mir Jafar, and they now sedulously applied themselves to overthrow him. With the disappearance of the Governor of Purnea they felt that the English were the only Power which could stand against him, and they joined with these foreign traders in a conspiracy against the Nawab, in which material assistance was rendered by one of his ancient enemies,—Ghasiti Begam.

"She now leagued herself secretly with Mir Jafar Khan, and gave him much assistance, by making interest in his behalf with every one whom she thought to have conserved some attachment to her concerns. To these she presented, by the means of trusty advocates, a long list of the wrongs she had endured. To these she sent secret messages, to claim at their hands all the rights which Aliwardi Khan's daughter, and Nawazish Muhammad Khan's consort, must have acquired over their gratitude. She recalled to their minds all the favours they had received from her family, recapitulated the violences she had suffered, and exhorted them to join Mir Jafar Khan. And as in the moment that preceded the capture of Moti Jhil, she had contrived to secret some gold, by the means of some trusty old women and eunuchs, she now took care to distribute it adroitly; and she even sent some to Mir Jafar Khan. This General on his side distributed his money wherever he thought it would be effectual; and he exerted himself

*" Always led away by the idea that he would not have sufficient influence to get himself recognized as Subahdar they carried on a correspondence with the Begam, and withdrew to Calcutta the treasures which she wished to put in a place of safety and also those of Rajballav her chief diwan. It is even said they had an understanding with the Nawab of Purnea."—Trans. of the first part of a Memoir by Monsr. Jean Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazar. Hill's *Bengal*, iii. 163.

so well in taking in his pay every disbanded soldier, and every hungry adventurer he heard of, that he soon assembled secretly in his house and in his quarter a very respectable force. Affairs being now come to that point; and every one of the grandees tending to one common centre in view, which was to remove Siraj-ud-daula; every one pointed his efforts that way; every one, firmly persuaded that the concurrence of the English was a necessary piece to the completion of his wishes, was exhorting them to break with that Prince. Jagat Seth was one of the foremost of them, and he had also the best opportunities. By the means of his mercantile agent, Amin Chund, one of the principal bankers of Calcutta, he was perpetually exciting the English to a rupture." (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 228).

The result of the activities of the conspirators was the battle of Plassey, which decided the fate of Bengal in favour of the English, who raised the arch-traitor—Mir Jafar—to the masnad of Murshidabad.

Siraj was foully murdered by order of Miran, the brutal son of Mir Jafar. The perfidious man did not remember the obligation which past favours from the house of Aliwardi ought to have imposed upon him. He shut up in a prison the consort of Aliwardi Khan and her two daughters as well as Lutf-un-nisa, the widow of Siraj-ud-daula, with her infant daughter. When they had undergone the rigours of prison life for some months, they were packed off to Dacca in some miserable boats (December 1758).

Miran was evidently bent on removing every obstacle from his path. Strangely enough, he even suspected Ghasiti and Amina of being his enemies, although they were now in exile, forgotten, and reduced to poverty and distress. He repeatedly wrote to Jasarat Khan, the Governor of Dacca, to put those aged and unfortunate ladies to death. But Jasarat was a generous soul and owed his bread and preferment to those ladies and to their deceased husbands. He replied by begging that a successor might be appointed in his place, as he wished to be excused from carrying out such an odious task. Miran was then busy making preparations to lead an expedition against Khadim Husain Khan (nephew of Mir Jafar) who was at that time creating disturbances on the other side of Patna, and he therefore deputed a friend of his to Dacca with instructions to induce his intended victims to embark in a boat by deceitfully giving them to understand that they would be sent to Murshidabad, and to sink the boat in mid-stream.

Preparatory to this iniquity, Ghasiti and Amina were conveyed to a lonely place. But Miran's real intention was betrayed by the emotion and tears of his agent. "Mother", said he to the eldest sister, "You have eaten nothing the whole day; eat something, for you are going to take a long journey, and—" here he was interrupted by his own tears and sobs.

Ghasiti took fright and shed tears, but the younger Amina endeavoured to console and pacify her: "Sister", said she, "Why such fears and why weep? We are destined to die one day; let that day be this." Here she

paused, and assuming a calmer tone added: "Sister, as we have been great sinners ourselves, we ought to thank God, that we are offered this method of expiation, and that we are not going without having placed our own load on the shoulders of Miran."

The Begams, after performing the purifying ablutions (*wazu*) and putting on clean clothes, begged God to pardon their sins, and then bade the man execute his master's orders. The agent seeming to hesitate, they both raised their hands, and Amina exclaimed, "O God Almighty, we are both sinners and culprits, but we have done no harm to Miran. On the contrary, he owes everything in the world to us, nor have we had any other return from him than this unjust order to put us to death. We hope, therefore, that after our death, Thou sendest Thine lightning to crush his guilty head, and to exact from him a full revenge on our own account and on that of our children." After these few words, they joined their hands together and sought a watery grave (June 1760).*

Their last prayer was heard. A few days after this tragic event, when Miran was in pursuit of the vanquished rebel Khadim Husain, a thunderbolt descended amidst a rainstorm, and struck him dead (1 July 1760).†

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

**Mutaqherin*, ii. 281, 368-370. See also *Riyaz-us-salatin*, p. 381; *Jamiu-t-tawarikh* in Elliot, viii. 428-29; Holwell's *An Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock*, p. 45.

†Select Committee Procdgs., 24 July, 1760, vide *An Abstract of the Early Records of the Foreign Dept.*, 1756-1762—S. C. Hill, p. 65.

Burials in Calcutta: 1775-1781.

EXTRACTS from the old Burial Register of St. John's Church have already been published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, commencing with the year 1713 and ending with the year 1774:

1713 to 1755: Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.

1759 to 1761: Vol. V, pp. 136 to 142.

1762 to 1774: Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

By the courtesy of the Rev. Canon Parker and the Rev. O. W. Birch, chaplains of St. John's Church, we have been able to arrange for a transcription of the entries from 1775 to 1788. These have not been easy to decipher, and our thanks are due to Mr. Birch for the pains taken by him to verify some of the most difficult cases. The instalment now printed covers the period between 1775 and 1781.

1775.

- Jan. 2. Joseph Decruse, belonging to the invalids.
- „ 2. John Bailey, invalid.
- „ 4. William Bensley, Supernumerary.
- „ 12. William Wood, Junr. Merchant, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service (1).
- „ 14. Mr. Reeves, in the Marine Service.
- „ 16. Robert Gurner, invalid.
- „ 17. Robert Kettle, matross (2).
- „ 19. Lawrence Flanagan, invalid.
- „ 27. Thomas Loskin, soldier.
- „ 27. William Parker, invalid.
- „ 30. Alexander Guet, inhabitant.
- „ 31. John Hastings, inhabitant.
- Feb. 2. Captain Mackenzie, inhabitant.
- „ 5. Joseph Pollard, inhabitant.
- „ 9. Mr. Wheelhouse, cadet of artillery.
- „ 17. Mrs. Baker, inhabitant.
- „ 23. John Massey, inhabitant.
- Mar. 2. John Latter, inhabitant.
- „ 9. William Brian, mariner.
- „ 11. Mrs. Ann Dyer, inhabitant.
- „ 12. James Harris, invalid.

(1) William Wood—Sub-Accountant, 1774.

(2) *Matross*—Dutch *matroos*, "sailor" Cf. Capt. G. Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary* (1779). "Matrosses are properly apprentices to the gunner; they assist in loading, firing and spunging the guns".

Mar.	14.	William Murray, invalid.
„	14.	William Gannel, matross.
„	16.	Mrs. Stivers, inhabitant.
„	20.	Joseph Shutter, invalid.
„	30.	Ulrick Hollar, Sergt. Major.
Apl.	1.	John Casey, inhabitant.
„	3.	Lieut. Ring.
„	3.	Mary Wedderburn, a child.
„	4.	John Carrolls, a child.
„	6.	William Holiday, inhabitant.
„	6.	Harvey Godfrey, sergeant.
„	22.	Henry Fosset, inhabitant.
„	24.	Francis Quaringle, inhabitant.
„	24.	Mr. Henry Hazard of ye Northumberland E. Indiaman.
May	1.	Martha Gibson, inhabitant.
„	8.	John Wittingham, soldier.
„	17.	John Cumming, pilot.
„	22.	Justina Hancock, inhabitant.
„	23.	Peter Vergue, servant to Mr. Montaigut (3).
„	23.	John White, soldier.
June	4.	Philip Croftes, inhabitant.
„	7.	Thomas Young, inhabitant.
„	7.	A young woman belonging to Capt. Sheils.
„	10.	Mr. Grant, late Surgeon of the Anson Transport.
„	14.	Mr. John Robinson, Capt. of Seapoys in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	15.	Francis, a servant of Capt. Hogg.
„	20.	Charles Meers, invalid.
„	21.	George Hardgrave, supernumerary.
„	22.	Mary Peacock, daughter of Mr. Francis Peacock.
„	24.	Peter Phroe, invalid.
July	3.	Mr. John Finlater, inhabitant.
„	5.	Thomas Burns, inhabitant.
„	6.	Thomas Harris, serjeant.
„	7.	Thomas Jennings, inhabitant.
„	7.	William Craddock, inhabitant.
„	16.	James Murray, inhabitant.
„	21.	George Davidson, inhabitant.
„	22.	William Dudley, soldier.
„	22.	William Lillyman, an infant.
„	23.	William Jones, inhabitant.
„	29.	John Clarke.
„	—.	Samuel Middleton, Esqr., President of ye Board of Commerce, died on his way to Monghyr (4).

(3) *Samuel Montaigut*—Sheriff of Calcutta in 1776: Mayor, 1773.

(4) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 46.

- Aug. 1. George Beer, Pilot.
 „ 4. Thomas Forbes, Pilot.
 „ 5. Alexander Forbes of ye 4th Company of Artillery.
 „ 12. William Dixon, inhabitant.
 „ 15. William Thompson, soldier.
 „ 17. Susannah Le Gallais, an infant (5).
 „ 18. Mr. James Irwin, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Lawrence Fox, soldier.
 „ 19. James Stalk, invalid.
 „ 19. James Gardiner, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Gilbert Man, belonging to the Britania.
 „ 22. John Morrison, soldier.
 „ 26. Richard Nelson, invalid.
 „ 27. Thomas Shepherd, soldier.
 „ 27. John Battersby, mariner.
 „ 28. John Peter, invalid.
 „ 30. Samuel West, invalid.
 „ 31. John Robinson, a mattross.
 Sept. 1. Michael Reiby, inhabitant.
 „ 2. William Elvin, invalid.
 „ 3. Thomas Watts, invalid.
 „ 13. Capt. Watkin, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Edward Longbottom, invalid.
 „ 17. John Fleet, in the marine service.
 „ 20. William Onion, an infant.
 „ 21. James Fisher, soldier.
 „ 22. James Demarrin, inhabitant.
 „ 27. John Blewitt, invalid.
 „ 27. James Bayles.
 „ 30. James Hyde, inhabitant.
 „ 30. William Dirley, of ye Artillery.
 Oct. 1. James Leborn, of the Salisbury Indiaman.
 „ 2. James Horex, of the 5th Company of Artillery.

(5) *Susannah le Gallais*—Daughter of Francis le Gallais, tavern-keeper, who provided dinners and suppers for the counsel and attorneys during the trial of Nuncomar at the Old Court House. It was the habit of Richard Barwell to entertain his men friends once a fortnight at “Le Gallais Tavern in Town”; and Grand had gone to sup with him there when he received the news that Francis had been surprised in his wife's room. Le Gallais went to Europe in 1780: cf. Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*: “Francis Le Gallais, formerly Master of the Tavern and Hotel in Calcutta, and since a considerable Wine Merchant has taken the whole of the great cabin of the Danish Indiaman, Captain Kroger.” He must have returned, for he died in Calcutta in 1791. The name survived. The erection of a Town Hall by means of a lottery was determined upon at a meeting held at Le Gallais' Tavern in 1792; and at another meeting on September 4, 1793, it was resolved to pay to Devis Sicca Rs. 20,000 for the portrait of Lord Cornwallis, which is now at Belvedere. Burrowes Le Gallais and Mangeon announce on May 5, 1796, that they have “taken that commodious house in Council House Street formerly the Bengal Bank” and are “fitting it up in the most convenient and modern style for the accommodation of routs, balls, concerts, dinners and suppers”.

Oct.	5.	Mr. Edward Greaves, inhabitant.
„	6.	James Twinley, soldier.
„	7.	Thomas Williams, inhabitant.
„	8.	Alexander Grant, invalid.
„	9.	Joseph Pitt, inhabitant.
„	10.	Lionel Darrell, an infant (6).
„	10.	George Dixon, belonging to the marine service.
„	10.	Peter Grant, invalid.
„	13.	Peter Stewart, an infant.
„	15.	John Warner, inhabitant.
„	15.	James Craigie.
„	17.	Richard Dick, soldier.
„	19.	John Pennington, invalid.
„	20.	Benjamin Penn.
„	24.	George Dutch, soldier.
„	27.	William King, invalid.
„	28.	Thomas Rogers.
„	29.	Thomas Gunning, soldier.
„	29.	John Lee.
„	30.	Abraham Potts, invalid.
„	30.	William Piper, invalid.
„	31.	William Baxter, invalid.
„	31.	Henry Donald, belonging to the Marine Service.
„	31.	John Taylor, of ye Artillery.
„	31.	John Lawrence, Supernumerary.
Nov.	1.	John Tunliston, inhabitant.
„	3.	James Smyth, inhabitant.
„	4.	John Davis, Supernumerary.
„	6.	John Hale, inhabitant.
„	6.	Tyso Saul Hancock, Esq., Physician (7).
„	7.	Andrew Fryer, invalid.
„	13.	Daniel Pemble, Supernumerary.
„	13.	Andrew Robson, inhabitant.
„	13.	Thomas Earle, soldier.
„	14.	John Loyd, an infant.
„	16.	Charles Young, supernumerary.

(6) *Lionel Darell*—son of Lionell Darell of the Company's Service, afterwards a baronet, M.P., for Lyme Regis and Hedon, and Director of the East India Company from 1780 until his death in 1803. The child was baptized on August 27, 1775.

(7) *Tyso Saul Hancock*—Friend of Warren Hastings. Married Philadelphia Austen, the aunt of Jane Austen, at Cuddalore in February 1753. He was appointed Head Surgeon at Devicottah in 1751, and received permission to remove to Bengal in 1759: but resigned the appointment of Surgeon at Fort William in 1761, and was nominated "supernumerary at the Presidency but not to rise" in 1770. On November 30, 1760, he asks for a *dustuck* to trade as a covenanted servant. His epitaph is given in the *Bengal Obituary* where it is stated that he was 64 at the time of his death. He was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery where his tomb may still be seen.

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- Nov. 16. Joseph May, invalid.
 „ 17. Aaron Arnett, sailor.
 „ 20. James Scardiss, invalid.
 „ 20. Lieut. Bucknell, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 20. Lawrence Henley, Artillery.
 „ 21. William Vernon, soldier.
 „ 21. John Blimfield, invalid.
 „ 25. John Leach, soldier.
 „ 26. John Shewald, supernumerary.
 „ 26. William Copland.
 „ 27. Francis Taylor, supernumerary.
 „ 29. George Brey, Artillery.
 „ 30. John Thiorns, supernumerary.
- Dec. 1. Thomas Huggins, invalid.
 „ 2. John Hutchins.
 „ 2. Alexander Liberton, invalid.
 „ 3. John Keplam, inhabitant.
 „ 3. John Putnam, Artillery.
 „ 5. John Collins, soldier.
 „ 5. Joel Richards, invalid.
 „ 6. William Oliver, soldier.
 „ 8. Amelia Parry, an infant.
 „ 10. Alexander Macdonald, soldier.
 „ 11. Isaac Necker, of ye Artillery.
 „ 12. John Walker, soldier.
 „ 13. Mr. William Combe.
 „ 14. William Johnson, soldier.
 „ 14. William Applin, invalid.
 „ 16. John Brunham, invalid.
 „ 18. George Hutchinson, soldier.
 „ 20. Charles Towey, invalid.
 „ 21. Nicholas Smith, seaman of ye Colebrooke.
 „ 25. John Forbes, soldier.
 „ 26. Charlotte Fortnom, an infant (8).
 „ 26. Anthony Atkins, soldier.
 „ 28. Mrs. Grace Ferguson (9).
 „ 29. Benjamin Patterson, supernumerary.
 „ 30. Michael Granckle, sailor of the Dolphin.

1776.

- Jan. 1. William Davis, Sergeant of Seapoys.
 „ 4. John Orr, invalid.
-

(8) Baptized on the previous day. The daughter of Colonel John Fortnom, who married Jane Yates on September 3, 1767. He was appointed " Director of the Works " in 1772.

(9) *Adam Fergusson*—Attorney of the Mayor's Court, died on August 29, 1774.

- Jan. 4. George Sturk, soldier.
 „ 5. John Grover, invalid.
 „ 5. Offsona Brix, an infant.
 „ 5. William Douglas, writer in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 7. Joseph Hornbuckle, invalid.
 „ 7. Jeremiah Gerrard of ye Marine Service.
 „ 9. [W.] Beckwith,, Attorney at Law.
 „ 10. John Gardiner of the Military.
 „ 13. Thomas Deane Supernumerary.
 „ 15. Henry Lyon, Supernumerary.
 „ 16. Mr. Edward Crouch, inhabitant.
 „ 16. John Claxton, soldier.
 „ 16. William Askew.
 „ 20. Robert Harris, soldier.
 „ 21. John Butter of ye Artillery.
 „ 23. John Morris, invalid.
 „ 26. William Howard, invalid.
 „ 26. Jacob Johnson, Cook.
 „ 20. John Hanson, soldier.
 „ 28. Mr. John Penn, inhabitant.
 „ 30. William Dining.
 Feb. 1. Anne Mackintosh, a child.
 „ 1. William Hampton, a child.
 „ 3. John Ellis, Sergeant of Seapoys.
 „ 5. John Stewart, soldier.
 „ 5. John Jones, sergeant of ye Militia.
 „ 7. John Sayle, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Joseph Bainber, inhabitant.
 „ 9. William Browne, a child.
 „ 11. Peter Hanson, invalid.
 „ 11. Mr. Joseph Law.
 „ 16. Charles Ross, soldier.
 „ 16. James Moffat, inhabitant.
 „ 18. The Right Hon'ble Lady Anne Monson (10).
 „ 18. John Watson, late of ye Pilot Service.
 Mar. 2. James Collins, invalid.
 „ 4. John Birch, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Mr. Dennis Morrison, Captain of a country ship.
 „ 6. Elizabeth Burlington, a child.
 „ 6. Alexander Sutherland, invalid.

(10) Cf. Annual Register 1777, where the date of death is given (strangely enough) as September 14: "Lady Anne Monson, wife of the Hon. George Monson, one of the members of the Supreme Council of Bengal and sister of the Earl of Darlington: in the East Indies." Colonel Monson, who was her second husband died at Hooghly on September 26, 1777: and they were buried side by side in the South Park Cemetery. The graves remained nameless for a hundred and thirty-two years: but an inscription was placed upon them in 1909 by the Government of Bengal at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

Mar.	8.	Mr. Richard Kelly, inhabitant.
„	9.	John Miller, a child.
„	11.	John Crawl, a child.
„	12.	John Curtis, invalid.
„	12.	Margaret Bevis, a child.
„	14.	Samuel Carnall, a child.
„	15.	Joseph Ackers, a child.
„	17.	Ann Macarthy, a child.
„	17.	James Hamilton, invalid.
„	17.	Daniel Campbell.
„	20.	Charles Edman, invalid.
„	21.	Charles Addison, a child.
„	24.	Elizabeth Leneier, a child.
„	25.	Sarah Robinson, a child.
„	26.	John Drummond, a child.
„	26.	John Brow, a child.
„	31.	Mr. J. Hamilton, a pilot in the Company's Service.
„	31.	John Robinson, a child.
Apl.	1.	Ann Ogden, a child (11).
„	1.	William Young, Supernumerary.
„	3.	William Blanshard, inhabitant.
„	4.	Lawrence Ellis, a child.
„	4.	Mr. John Sykes, writer in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	6.	Naney Obrien, a child.
„	7.	Peter Grose, a child.
„	10.	Robert Allingham, a child.
„	12.	Ensign John Sharpe, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	14.	Charles Wordie, a child.
„	15.	Mathew Saxby, soldier.
„	16.	William Bedman, inhabitant.
„	18.	Edward Ellis, a child.
„	19.	Elizabeth Grant, a child.
„	22.	Bethayer Mammer, soldier.
„	24.	Samuel Dacosta, a child.
„	26.	Robert Bryson, a child.
„	26.	Samuel Turnbull, invalid.
„	26.	James Lever, soldier.
„	27.	Thomas Sadler, inhabitant.
„	27.	Andrew Alexander of ye Marine Service.
„	28.	Margaret Grant, a child.
„	28.	John King, a child.

(11) When William Hickey came to Calcutta in 1777, he took a house, "delightfully situated on the Esplanade, open to the Southward and Eastward", which belonged (he says) to "Mrs. Ogden, the widow of a pilot then recently dead". But James Ogden, "late pilot", died on June 8, 1782: and the registers of St. John's Church show also that Hugh Darley married Ann Ogden, widow, on February 11, 1784.

Apl.	29.	Benjamin Ashe, a child (12).
„	29.	George King, a child.
May	3.	John Renny of the 5th Company of Artillery.
„	4.	Thomas Proby, supernumerary.
„	7.	Robert Mildram, servant to Mr. Justice Hyde.
„	7.	John Wilson, a child.
„	7.	Martha Brayson, a child.
„	8.	William Jackson, a child.
„	10.	Thomas Bourk, invalid.
„	10.	Robert Gunderstrap, a child.
„	10.	Jacob Jonson, drummer.
„	10.	Phillip Lawes, supernumerary.
„	16.	Benjamin Ashe, a child.
„	16.	Thomas Goddard, invalid.
„	17.	Elizabeth Middleton, a child.
„	23.	John Pipe, soldier.
„	25.	John Stanby, soldier.
„	25.	John Newton, corporal.
June	3.	Elizabeth Pezzy, a child.
„	4.	Mr. Robert Cholmondely, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
„	5.	Lieut. John Cammeron, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
„	5.	Thomas Lamb, inhabitant.
„	7.	Edward Walb, soldier.
„	10.	Thomas Broad.
„	16.	Nicholas Rillah, a soldier.
„	16.	Mathew Mcnamara, soldier.
„	26.	Edward Parry, a child.
„	28.	John Cummings, inhabitant.
July	2.	John Monkarch, soldier.
„	10.	Jonathan Chapman, supernumerary.
„	16.	Mr. Thomas Shaw, inhabitant.
„	23.	Richard Draker, invalid.
„	23.	George White, soldier.
„	25.	William Hooly, a child.
„	26.	John Cooper, invalid.
„	26.	Ambrose Monckton, invalid.
„	29.	John Nicholson, invalid.
„	29.	Henry Smith, of the 5th Co.'s Artillery.
Aug.	1.	Mr. John Henry, ensign in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
„	2.	John Wright, invalid.
„	2.	Timothy Connor, soldier.
„	3.	Mr. Finch, taylor.
„	5.	George Deane, mate in the pilot service.
„	5.	John Prichard, sailor of the Greenwich.
„	10.	Mr. Lewis Dramgal, midshipman of ye Greenwich.

(12) The entry is repeated without explanation on May 16.

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- Aug. 10. George Gillard, sailor.
 „ 12. Joseph Haugh, sailor.
 „ 14. Robert Barnfather, inhabitant.
 „ 16. William Hardie, mate of a country ship.
 „ 17. Mr. Joy, carpenter.
 „ 18. Benjamin Browning, invalid.
 „ 18. John Reed, mattross.
 „ 19. Mr. Charles Hodgman.
 „ 19. Charles Haslam.
 „ 19. Mr. John Davies, writer in ye Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 20. Mr. Richard Hawker, pilot.
 „ 21. Mrs. Ross, inhabitant.
 „ 21. John Henry McNale, a child.
 „ 21. Charles Langford, soldier.
 „ 24. Thomas Lindsay, invalid.
 „ 28. Francis Cannon, soldier.
 „ 29. Mary Shewen, an infant.
 „ 30. John Jones, sailor of ye Greenwich.
 „ 31. John Ewer, pilot.
 „ 31. Mr. James Capper, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service upon the
 Madrass establishment (13).
 „ 31. Joel Deer, soldier.
 Sep. 3. Joseph Goodchild, soldier.
 „ 3. James Barker, invalid.
 „ 3. Thomas France, of ye artillery.
 „ 6. Mr. William Henry, gardener of ye pilot service.
 „ 7. Thomas Spriggs, invalid.
 „ 7. John Gaswin, of a country ship.
 „ 8. James Ferguson.
 „ 11. Thomas Knightson, soldier.
 „ 11. Mr. Neale, captain of a country ship.
 „ 16. Abraham Bodley, inhabitant.
 „ 21. Mary Thompson.
 „ 21. George Knight, soldier.
 „ 22. James Scott, sergeant.
 „ 24. William Cooper, sailor of ye Greenwich.
 „ 26. The Hon'ble George Monson, Colonel of His Majesty's 50th
 Regiment of foot, Member of the Supreme Council of Bengal
 (14).
 „ 26. Edward Fabin, inhabitant.
-

(13) James Capper: Writer at Fort Saint George, 1770: appointed to be a Factor in 1776, the year of his death.

(14) Son of the first Lord Monson, and brother of the second baron. Served in the Carnatic War and was severely wounded at the siege of Pondicherry in 1760, where he was second in command under Coote, M.P. for Lincoln 1754 to 1768: aide-de-camp to the King 1769. Aged 46.

Oct.	1.	Thomas Fowler, inhabitant.
„	3.	Mary Hoare, a child.
„	7.	Thomas Linnel, soldier.
„	8.	Domingo Dalruz, invalid.
„	8.	John Edgwell, soldier.
„	10.	Patrick Lindsey, an infant.
„	11.	John Lamb, invalid.
„	11.	Edward Roberts, an infant.
„	11.	Mary Roberts, an infant.
„	13.	John Sykes, soldier.
„	14.	Benjamin Carne, captain of a country ship.
„	17.	Mr. Arthur Adie, inhabitant.
„	19.	Robert Stephen Burgh, inhabitant.
„	19.	Mr. Hercules Durham, inhabitant (15).
„	19.	Mrs. Eleonara Watson, inhabitant.
„	22.	Mr. Francis John Sykes, writer in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	26.	Samuel Watson, an infant.
„	27.	Mr. Robert James Gould, inhabitant.
„	28.	John Flanagan, inhabitant.
Nov.	2.	Samuel Walter, a child.
„	4.	Mr. Stephen Lymbery, inhabitant.
„	5.	William Kimber, invalid.
„	5.	Nicholas Clinton, sailor of ye Shrewsbury.
„	6.	Mr. Clarke, inhabitant.
„	8.	John Lambert, soldier.
„	10.	Samuel Hoyle, sailor of the Duke of Cumberland.
„	11.	Mr. Thomas Price, inhabitant.
„	11.	Joseph Barnes, sailor.
„	13.	Salmon Crawley, sergeant.
„	13.	Robert Dunlop, soldier.
„	17.	John Rudd, invalid.
„	18.	Edward Parker, invalid.
„	21.	James Bailey, sailor of ye Shrewsbury.
„	21.	George Hitherton, inhabitant.
„	21.	John Smith, sergeant.
„	23.	William Thomas, a child.
„	23.	Leonard Retfield, late of the marine service.
„	24.	William Lanskett, soldier.
„	24.	Samuel Carnell, inhabitant.
„	24.	William Sennet, inhabitant.
„	25.	William Dare, Leut. in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	27.	Edward Shewen, captain in ye Hon. Co.'s Military Service and aid-de-camp to the Governor-General.

(15) *Hercules Durham*—admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on January 7, 1775, and acted as counsel for the Crown in the Nuncomar case.

Nov.	29.	James Macfarlan, soldier.
„	30.	Charles Combs, invalid.
Dec.	1.	Thomas Wheeler, invalid.
„	2.	Donald McDonald, invalid.
„	3.	Thomas Frohock, invalid.
„	4.	Jane Robertson, a child.
„	6.	Mr. Knelans, sergeant.
„	7.	James Jolley, inhabitant.
„	8.	John Dimmeging, invalid.
„	8.	Mrs. Francis Bassett.
„	10.	Mr. Robert Browne, sail maker.
„	10.	Thomas Barnard, invalid.
„	10.	Henry Young, sailor.
„	11.	David Oxspring, invalid.
„	12.	Mr. Richard Morgan, inhabitant.
„	12.	Jacob Walker, invalid.
„	15.	Stephen Langley, invalid.
„	15.	William Thompson, sailor of ye Shrewsbury.
„	17.	William Bowman, inhabitant.
„	18.	Michael Grey, Invalid.
„	18.	Lieut. Robert Maxwell, of the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
„	18.	Stephen Harman.
„	20.	Thomas Pearson, invalid.
„	20.	James Jordon, a child.
„	20.	Benjamin Bolton Booth, invalid.
„	20.	John Duncan, supernumerary.
„	21.	John Witman, invalid.
„	21.	John Bolton, soldier.
„	23.	Thomas Pegott, supernumerary.
„	24.	Thomas Dawlin, inhabitant.
„	25.	Edward Byneley, soldier.
„	27.	Catharine Gascoine, widow.
„	27.	William Hillyard, inhabitant.

1777.

Jan.	1.	William Wigmore, soldier.
„	1.	Thomas Woffington, soldier.
„	4.	William Martin, invalid.
„	6.	William Handel, invalid.
„	8.	Andrew Coster, inhabitant.
„	13.	John Maclean, a child.
„	15.	William Todd, invalid.
„	16.	Barnby Quin, supernumerary.
„	16.	John Collucate, inhabitant.

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- Jan. 22. Mr. Joshua Nixon, inhabitant (16).
 „ 25. Mrs. Williams.
 „ 25. John Coffe, invalid.
 „ 26. Mr. Biggs, inhabitant.
 „ 29. John Gurson, invalid.
 Feb. 1. Peter Dillaway, invalid.
 „ 1. William Pinion, invalid.
 „ 7. William Clarke, inhabitant.
 „ 10. Mary Cornish, a child.
 „ 11. Joseph Matthews, invalid.
 „ 12. James Frasier, invalid.
 „ 18. Mr. Lequin, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Mr. James Robinson, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Thomas Purney, soldier.
 „ 21. Thomas Craven, belonging to the Banksall (17).
 „ 21. Francis Pinnez, a child.
 „ 25. John Empson, of the marine service.
 „ 26. John Haywood, invalid.
 „ 27. James Fox, invalid.
 „ 28. Ezabel Evans, inhabitant.
 Mar. 7. John Crest, invalid.
 „ 7. Thomas Murphy, invalid.
 „ 7. Mr. Paul Arrendrupe, inhabitant.
 „ 9. Charles Smith, belonging to the Pilot Service.
 „ 18. Catherine Browning.
 „ 18. Samuel Ahmuty, a child.
 „ 20. Thomas Knight, corporal of artillery.
 „ 22. Thomas Gribbon, soldier.
 „ 24. Samuel Easty, soldier.
 Apl. 2. Mr. [T.] Woodward (19).
 „ 3. Robert Clarke, sergeant.
 „ 4. Mr. Peter Grant, cadet.
 „ 4. John Browne, inhabitant.
 „ 4. Henry Simpson, invalid.
 „ 8. Mr. Smith, invalid.
 „ 14. William Keaton, invalid.
 „ 14. Mr. Lindsey, captain of country ship.
 „ 15. Henry Brigers, invalid.
 „ 20. Mathew Sheridan, invalid.
 „ 22. Michael Slack, invalid.
 „ 23. David Dunn, soldier.

(16) The Company's Cooper.

(17) *Bankshall*—*Hind—bangsal*, "ware house", hence office of the Harbour Master. The situation of the Calcutta Bankshall, or Marine Yard, is indicated by the modern street of that name. The dock attached to it was filled up in 1808.

(19) Mayor of Calcutta, 1767.

Apl.	25.	Mr. William Swallow, inhabitant.
„	26.	James Webb, invalid.
„	27.	John Cooper, invalid.
„	27.	John Watts, inhabitant.
May	1.	Mr. Thomas Bryant, inhabitant.
„	1.	John Brown, invalid.
„	13.	James Muggage, soldier.
„	14.	Thomas Browne, matross of artillery.
„	17.	John Elsy, invalid.
„	28.	Thomas Harvey, a child.
„	29.	Mr. Collis, inhabitant.
June	3.	Randall Eaton, inhabitant.
„	4.	Mr. Knivet, inhabitant.
„	5.	Mr. [Matthew] Yeandle, Jailor (20).
„	8.	William Hopkings, soldier.
„	9.	Mr. Charles Williams, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	9.	Mr. Merier, inhabitant.
„	10.	Mr. Warne, watch maker
„	10.	Mr. McNab, inhabitant.
„	12.	Samuel Sanders, supernumerary.
„	21.	Joseph Sutton, invalid.
„	26.	David Daniel, an infant.
July	3.	James Harrison, soldier.
„	4.	Edward Hands, invalid.
„	4.	Lewis Johnson, invalid.
„	4.	Ann Barnard, an infant.
„	5.	Elezabeth Durham, an infant.
„	12.	John Pitt, soldier.
„	18.	Mr. Brenwell, blacksmith.
„	19.	Peter Leopard, soldier.
„	19.	Joseph Cleverly, a recruit.
„	21.	Mrs. [Christiana] Keable, inhabitant (21).
„	21.	Mathew White, of the artillery.
„	27.	John Hutchinson, mates of the Comet Sloop.
„	27.	John Hendrick, invalid.
Aug.	3.	Mr. Howard, inhabitant.
„	9.	Edward Sanders, invalid.
„	9.	Edward Miller, inhabitant.
„	9.	James Smith, belonging to the Banksall.
„	13.	William Ayres, soldier.
„	16.	Andrew Hampton.
„	21.	James Ireland, soldier.

(20) *Matthew Yeandle*--Nuncomar was committed to his custody. A tent was eventually pitched for the prisoner on an outhouse inside the wall of the jail.

(21) *Christiana Keble*--wife of Page Keble, master attendant, who married again on July 3, 1782, his second wife being Elizabeth Metham.

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- Aug. 22. Thomas Ford, invalid.
 „ 29. Henrietta Amelia Aldersey, an infant (22).
 „ 29. John Sullivan, invalid.
 „ 29. Mr. James Henry, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Lieut. General Sir John Clavering, K.B. (23).
 Sep. 1. Mr. Bride, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 2. Thomas Stanhope, invalid.
 „ 3. William Kellen, soldier.
 „ 6. Major John Smith in the Hon'ble Company's Service (24).
 „ 7. John Hampton, an infant.
 „ 7. John Best, seaman of the Egmont East Indiaman.
 „ 13. John Duff, invalid.
 „ 14. Michael Seaman, recruit.
 „ 18. John Brickwood, belonging to the Valentine East Indiaman.
 „ 23. Mr. [J.] Briggs, master of the Hon'ble Company's Yacht
 [Speedwell].
 Oct. 1. George Parker, soldier.
 „ 2. Barnard Claney, invalid.
 „ 5. Thomas Muckle, seaman.
 „ 8. Joseph Fit, invalid.
 „ 8. James Stewart, supernumerary.
 „ 11. Mr. William Briggs, taylor.
 „ 14. John Mansfield, invalid.
 „ 14. Mr. Alexander Patterson.
 „ 20. James Forrest, soldier.
 „ 22. Benjamin Grist, soldier.
 „ 24. James Shackle, sailor belonging to the Houghton E. Indiaman.
 „ 24. John Durham, invalid.
 „ 26. John Baxter, supernumerary.
 „ 27. William Robertson, invalid.
 „ 27. John Deacon, invalid.
 „ 28. Mr. Thomas Braithwaite, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 29. Mr. [J.] Driver, Attorney at Law.
 „ 29. James Dimsday, invalid.
 „ 29. Jacob Cossair, invalid.
 „ 30. Daniel Neal, invalid.
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(22) The father *William Aldersey* was President of the Board of Trade from 1775 to 1779. He was one of the four civilians brought up from Fort Saint George by Clive in 1767 and as Second in Council acted as Governor of Fort William during the absence of Hastings up-country in September 1773. Married *Henrietta Yerke* in Calcutta on February 28, 1775.

(23) Colonel of the 22nd Regiment. Buried in South Park Street Cemetery where his tomb may be seen. He was 55 at the time of his death.

(24) Brother of General Richard Smith. On the Madras establishment. Came out with G. F. Grand in December 1775 on the *Greenwich* indiaman. The first husband of *Susanna Sophia Selina Debonnaire* whom he married at Fort St. George on August 24, 1776, and whose second husband (married April 18, 1782) was Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe the father of Lord Metcalfe. (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 208, 209.)

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| Nov. | 1. | James Batchelor, soldier. |
| „ | 1. | William Bradley, invalid. |
| „ | 4. | Stephen Caesar Lemaistre, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature (25). |
| „ | 5. | Edward Lyons, seaman. |
| „ | 6. | John Curtis. |
| „ | 6. | Thomas Raney, soldier. |
| „ | 6. | Thomas Bidley, seaman of the Duke of Kingston E. Indiaman. |
| „ | 9. | Fredrick, Stiver. |
| „ | 10. | Henry Parry, an infant. |
| „ | 11. | Thomas Knight, supernumerary. |
| „ | 14. | William Heyho, soldier. |
| „ | 14. | John Parris, invalid. |
| „ | 16. | William Magee, soldier. |
| „ | 17. | James Lyons, soldier. |
| „ | 18. | Edward Humphries, soldier. |
| „ | 20. | Mr. Reed, Conductor of Artillery. |
| „ | 20. | Edward Blunt, invalid. |
| „ | 21. | Henry Browning, invalid. |
| „ | 21. | Mr. Robert Richardson, inhabitant. |
| „ | 22. | John Winfield, soldier. |
| „ | 22. | James Patterson, Gunner of Artillery. |
| „ | 25. | Matthew Abbs., recruit. |
| „ | 26. | Francis Winwood, Bombardier of Artillery. |
| „ | 27. | Joseph Wilson, invalid. |
| „ | 29. | James Fround, soldier. |
| „ | 30. | James Miller, pilot. |
| Dec. | 1. | David Haughty, soldier. |
| „ | 3. | William Morris, drum major of invalids. |
| „ | 3. | Mr. Manuel. |
| „ | 4. | John Sowson, invalid. |
| „ | 8. | Mr. Inglish. |
| „ | 10. | James Henley, soldier. |
| „ | 10. | Thomas Wilson, invalid. |
| „ | 11. | Mr. Johnson, inhabitant. |
| „ | 11. | Richard Then, invalid. |
| „ | 11. | Robert Humphries, recruit. |
| „ | 11. | Thomas Egan, surgeon's mate of the Kingston E. Indiaman. |
| „ | 12. | John Daniel, invalid. |
| „ | 12. | Samuel Sing, soldier. |
| „ | 14. | George Kenset, invalid. |
| „ | 16. | Thomas Humble, invalid. |

(25) *Stephen Caesar Lemaistre* was 39 years of age at the time of his death. His grave in South Park Street Cemetery is close to that of the Rev. Thomas Yate (died 1782). It remained without an inscription until 1909, when the omission was repaired by the Government of Bengal, at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

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- Dec. 17. William Stacey, soldier.
 „ 18. Mr. Thomas Fryer, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Michael Prance, soldier.
 „ 21. Richard Deckin, invalid.
 „ 24. Mr. Richard Hintz, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Lieut. Dorrington, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.

1778.

- Jan. 1. John Beer, a child.
 „ 4. Robert Turton, a child.
 „ 5. Mary Melicent Hastings Adams, a child.
 „ 10. John Sutton, mariner.
 „ 11. David Cuming, inhabitant.
 „ 12. James Percival, invalid.
 „ 13. Elias Knight, a recruit.
 „ 16. James Horsely, matross of artillery.
 „ 20. Alexander Lawson, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Cornelius Beckfield, invalid.
 „ 24. Mr. Pridie, purser of the Kingston East Indiaman.
 „ 26. John Mollineux, seaman.
 „ 26. Christian Jacobson, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Mr. James Reeves, inhabitant.
 „ 28. William Webster, invalid.
 „ 28. Jacob Jackson, invalid.
 „ 30. Thomas Mason, soldier.
 „ 31. Alexander Gourly, supernumerary.
- Feb. 2. John Money invalid.
 „ 5. Capt. Taylor of the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 9. John Haply, invalid.
 „ 11. Jacob Speakman, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Peter Bliver, soldier.
 „ 21. John Justley, soldier.
 „ 22. George Thompson, seaman.
 „ 22. Benjamin Roberts, soldier.
 „ 23. John Ferguson, invalid.
 „ 24. Saint Andrew, invalid.
 „ 24. Thomas White, late sailor belonging to the Duke of Portland East Indiaman.
 „ 25. John Andrews, a child.
 „ 28. Thomas Batt, soldier.
- Mar. 1. Collin M'Kenzie, sergeant.
 „ 7. Mr. Fletcher, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Joseph Neebourn, a child.
 „ 9. Mr. Edington, inhabitant.
 „ 9. William Johnson, soldier.
 „ 9. Jane Gregory, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Thomas Sanders, matross.

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- Mar. 17. John Johnson, a child.
 „ 17. Mr. Henry Leake, factor in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 18. Thomas Raper, corporal.
 „ 19. John Hector Munro, a child.
 „ 19. John Powell, soldier.
 „ 19. Mr. Craddock, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Thomas Welsh.
 „ 23. Thomas Maddock, supernumerary.
 „ 23. Mr. William Cotes, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service (26).
 „ 24. John Waite, invalid.
 „ 24. James Hayhurst, invalid.
 „ 27. Maria Walker, an infant.
 „ 29. William Waddle, sergeant.
 „ 30. Michael Milley, invalid.
 „ 31. Thomas Smith, invalid.
- Apl. 1. James Stuart, soldier.
 „ 4. Elizabeth Mclean, a child.
 „ 4. Phillip Armstrong, Sergeant Major of the Governor's Troop.
 „ 9. George Murwell, soldier.
 „ 10. John Spelman, soldier.
 „ 13. William Rogers, sergeant.
 „ 16. John Phillips, soldier.
 „ 17. Mr. Sicar, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Alexander McKenzie, a child.
 „ 22. Alexander Grant, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Ambrose Rorks, a child.
 „ 27. Mr. Runton, Deputy Jail Keeper,
 Fredric Christian Fischer, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Joseph Swaiger, inhabitant.
- May 5. Nancy Smith, a child.
 „ 5. Mary Williams, an infant.
 „ 9. William Nash, soldier.
 „ 10. Daniel Skinner, late of the Hon'ble Co.'s Marine Service (27).
 „ 10. Mrs. Higgs, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Nicholas Anderson, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Nancy Hunter, an infant.
 „ 15. Francis Hardinge, matross of artillery.
 „ 16. Panhellick Hensley, sergeant.
 „ 20. Mr. Johnson Baker, late Steward of the hospital.
 „ 20. Mr. David Pattens, Ensign in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 23. John Read, soldier.
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(26) William Cotes—the first husband of Diana Rochfort whom he married on January 19, 1774: and who became the wife of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, sixth baronet, on March 10, 1779. (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 22 to 26).

(27) Master of the brig *Experiment*.

May	23.	John Harvey, soldier.
„	24.	John Lowndes, inhabitant.
„	25.	William Burr, invalid.
„	25.	Mr. William Carmichael, inhabitant.
„	25.	Ellen Smye.
„	26.	Michael Berry, sergeant.
„	26.	Joseph Starkes, soldier.
„	27.	Mr. Daniel M'Cullum, inhabitant.
„	27.	Mr. Lathan, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
„	27.	Thomas Wild, inhabitant.
„	29.	Mayer Browne, sergeant major of artillery.
„	29.	Luke Quin, constable.
„	31.	Robert Basset, soldier.
„	31.	Richard Jones.
„	31.	Michael Buston, matross of artillery.
June	6.	Henry Cooper.
„	8.	William Diamond.
„	9.	Thomas Stokes, invalid.
„	9.	Daniel Jones, mariner.
„	15.	Thomas Taylor, soldier.
„	16.	James Smith, inhabitant.
„	18.	John Holland, soldier.
„	23.	Thomas Gresey, invalid.
„	23.	William Thomas, soldier.
„	25.	Alexander Mcmanus, soldier.
July	6.	William Smith, late master in the pilot service.
„	7.	Richard Wright, soldier.
„	9.	John Wright, soldier.
„	12.	Capt. Robert Boxe, of the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
„	12.	Henry Simpson, invalid.
„	23.	John Reinwell, invalid.
„	24.	Thomas Boxley, drummer.
„	27.	Mrs. Wheler, wife of Edw. Wheler, Esq., Member of Supreme Council (28).
Aug.	2.	Michael Simmonds, corporal.
„	4.	Joseph Harwood, supernumerary.
„	5.	Barnet, inhabitant.
„	5.	Mr. Alexander Johnson, free merchant.
„	6.	Mr. Deane, pilot.
„	6.	Richard Emmerson, invalid.
„	7.	Daniel Sanders, invalid.
„	9.	George Browne, soldier.

(28) The first wife of Edward Wheler. Her maiden name was Harriet Chicheley Plowden, and her brother was Capt. Richard Chicheley Plowden, Director of the East India Company from 1803 to 1829. Wheler married again on December 10, 1780, his second wife being Charlotte Durnford who had come out with them on the *Duke of Portland* Indiaman in 1777.

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- Aug. 10. John Dowdey, soldier.
 „ 16. Mr. Whittle, inhabitant (29).
 „ 21. Mr. Rock, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Dolis, inhabitant.
 „ 25. Scott, sailor belonging to the ship *Resolution*.
 „ 26. John Ellis, mariner.
 „ 26. Paul Cain, inhabitant.
 „ 29. Mr. Desmond, inhabitant.
- Sept 2. Alexander Henry, natural son of Mr. H. Grant, free merchant (30).
 „ 3. Joseph Bliss, soldier.
 „ 3. Mr. John Staples, Attorney at Law.
 „ 7. Peter Thornton, invalid.
 „ 7. William Mackner, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Mr. Unam, pilot.
 „ 10. John Steel, mariner.
 „ 11. Robert Fleming, soldier.
 „ 13. Thomas Dunkin, soldier.
 „ 13. Daniel Campbell, supernumerary.
 „ 14. Mr. Wm. Graham.
 „ 17. Alexander Gatt.
 „ 17. Mr. Dennet Court, surgeon of the *Osterley East Indiaman* (31).
 „ 18. Joseph Barnes, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Mr. (M) Gunning, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 30. William French, soldier.
 „ 30. Clarke, Captain of the Hon'ble Co.'s Service, Marine.
- Oct. 1. John Carmichael, mariner.
 „ 2. Mr. Thomas Collins.
 „ 11. Mr. Macrae, inhabitant.
 „ 12. John Bullock, soldier.
 „ 13. John Hobson, soldier.
 „ 13. Francis Drew, soldier.
 „ 15. Charles Pash, belonging to the *Mount Stuart East Indiaman*.
 „ 15. John Simmons, soldier.
 „ 16. Edward Barnes, sailor.
 „ 17. David Langton, inhabitant.
 „ 21. George Rox, soldier.
 „ 21. Joseph Folkes, matross.
 „ 24. John Wathen, soldier.
 „ 25. Mr. (J) Roberts, captain of a country ship (32).
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(29) W. Whittle, Deputy Master Attendant.

(30) *Henry Grant* was Agent for Army Clothing from 1773 to 1784. Married on March 29, 1779, Alicia Camac, sister of Major Jacob Camac. They acted in England as joint guardians, with Hastings, of the younger John Hadly D'Oyly, afterwards eighth Baronet.

(31) *Dennet Court*—was a shipmate of William Hickey on the *Plassey* which sailed from the Downs on January 3, 1769. Hickey met him again at Canton later on in the same year when he had become surgeon on the *Ashburnham* (Memoirs Vol. I, p. 212).

(32) Master of the brig *Dispatch*.

Oct.	26.	Mr. (D) McMurdo, captain of the Britannia in the Hon'ble Company's Marine Service.
„	27.	Robert Freeman, soldier.
„	30.	George Storey, matross.
Nov.	5.	John Woodbridge, soldier.
„	6.	John Wilde, soldier.
„	6.	Hugh Carr, soldier.
„	6.	Joseph Wilby.
„	7.	William Stevens, soldier.
„	8.	John Newton, matross.
„	8.	William Waters, soldier.
„	9.	Mrs. Barwell, wife of Richard Barwell, Esq., Member of Supreme Council (33).
„	9.	Francis Timberman, soldier.
„	9.	Richard Josiah Maberly, a child.
„	10.	Mr. Enville.
„	10.	Thomas Crosby, soldier.
„	14.	John Duggan, soldier.
„	14.	James Dempster, soldier.
„	18.	Barney Dublin, sailor.
„	19.	Mr. Thomas Gale, 2nd mate of the Osterley East Indiaman.
„	20.	John Lacy, matross.
„	26.	Jeseph Brown, soldier.
„	26.	Fredric Lennerley, soldier.
„	29.	Robert Cooper, invalid.
Dec.	1.	Thomas Cross, soldier.
„	5.	George Tyce, soldier.
„	5.	John Herritage, soldier.
„	5.	Charles Cobb.
„	7.	John Hardy, soldier.
„	10.	Joseph Sunwell, soldier.
„	11.	Peter Hellebrand, soldier.
„	13.	John Thompson, sailor.
„	18.	Thomas Pilgrim, mariner.
„	19.	Francis Lacount, corporal.
„	19.	Thomas Hall, mariner.
„	21.	Captain Charles Clarke of the artillery corps.
„	21.	Richard Hill, soldier.
„	26.	Martin Peters, Lewis Edwards & Phillip Powell, soldiers.
„	27.	John Williams, seaman.
„	28.	Robert Jones, soldier.

(33) Richard Barwell married Elizabeth Sanderson, a well-known Calcutta beauty of the time, on September 13, 1776. She was 25 years old at the time of her death. Her tomb was partially rebuilt in 1907 and an inscription placed upon it by the Government of Bengal at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society. Lieut. Robert Sanderson, her father, married, "Miss Mary Coles, inhabitant" on January 7, 1750.

1779.

- Jan. 3. Mr. John Holmes, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 3. William Wheeler, soldier.
 „ 4. Lawrence Langer Howson, sailor belonging to the Shrewsbury East Indiaman.
 „ 5. William King, drummer.
 „ 13. John Peck, matross of artillery.
 „ 13. Peter Foster, soldier.
 „ 15. Roger Harrison, sergeant.
 „ 24. Elizabeth Wilkins, an infant.
 „ 26. William Burgess, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Mrs. Goddard.
 „ 31. Mr. Richard Moreton, an Ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
- Feb. 1. Thomas Butler, matross.
 „ 2. John Cook, invalid.
 „ 5. John Deacon, soldier.
 „ 6. Daniel Heffernan, soldier.
 „ 11. Henry Tailor.
 „ 20. John Forrester, carpenter.
 „ 27. Mr. Thompson.
- Mar. 1. William Souple, belonging to the marine service.
 „ 1. John Gordon, soldier.
 „ 2. Christopher Riche, soldier.
 „ 12. Joseph Rochinbeck, soldier.
 „ 14. Mr. William Alleys, lieut. fire worker.
 „ 20. Peter Clive, sailor.
 „ 24. James Higgins, mariner.
 „ 25. John Casey, sailor.
 „ 30. Mr. (John) Rosewell, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (34).
- Apl. 18. John Russhaw, soldier.
 „ 22. James Ayell, sergeant.
- May 3. John Newland, inhabitant.
 „ 3. James Anderson, gunner of artillery.
 „ 6. John Logan, sailor.
 „ 7. James Cox, soldier.
 „ 14. George Robinson, gunner of artillery.
 „ 16. Mrs. Craiggs.
 „ 17. William Clarke, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Mr. Kennedy.
 „ 21. Thomas Beach, sergeant.
 „ 24. Elizabeth Le Gallais.
 „ 25. Mr. (L. R.) Lancake, late a Lieutnt. in the Hon'ble Company's Service.

(34) John Rosewell—Naval Storekeeper.

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- May 25. Mr. John Daniel.
 „ 29. Charles Stafford Playdell, Esqr., a member of the Board of Trade,
 Master in the Chancery in the Supreme Court of Judicature
 and Superintendent of Ye Police of this Town (35).
 „ 30. Barney Dorman, soldier.
 „ 31. John Brown, soldier.
 June 2. Mr. Knott, inhabitant (36).
 „ 2. Mr. Cooper, inhabitant.
 „ 3. Henry Scott, a child.
 „ 5. Richard Rostrick, mariner.
 „ 14. Lieut. William Wittet, in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 22. Joseph Robinson, soldier.
 July 3. John Horseman, constable.
 „ 10. Charles Browne, mariner.
 „ 11. Mr. Thomas Peele, inhabitant.
 „ 12. Edward Turpin, sergeant.
 „ 16. Charles Newman, a child (37).
 „ 16. John Flax, soldier.
 „ 19. Thomas Morrison, soldier.
 „ 19. Robert Vanbrugh, soldier.
 „ 22. John Hoggin, supernumerary.
 „ 27. James Dolman, inhabitant.
 „ 31. Henrietta Chambers, an infant (38).
 Aug. 16. John Dolphin, supernumerary.
 „ 17. Sarah Ayres, a child.
 „ 18. Samuel Aldrige, matross.
 „ 22. Lewis Brent, soldier.
 „ 22. William Thompson, soldier.
 „ 29. Andrew Shing, soldier.
 „ 31. Leut. Foster, late on the Bombay Establishment.
 Sept. 2. Robert Evans.
 „ 2. John Coppin, soldier.
 „ 3. William Greenways, a child.
 „ 7. Mr. Morrison, late captain of a country ship.
 „ 9. John Cooper, invalid.
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(35) *Charles Stafford Playdell*—came out to Bengal in 1754 and was second at Judge at the time of the "troubles", when he took refuge at Fulta. Went to England in 1768 and returned in 1771. His first wife Elizabeth whom he married on February 23, 1759, was a daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell.

(36) Query: Is this the John Knott whose letter to "Mr. Nubkissen" (written from London on March 29, 1774) is printed by Mr. N. N. Ghose in his "Life of Maharajah Nub Kissen Bahadur" (pp. 26-29)? See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 144.

(37) Son of Charles Newman, advocate of the Supreme Court and standing Counsel from 1776 to 1781 who was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, 1782.

(38) *Henrietta Chambers*—daughter of Sir Robert Chambers, Baptized in June 22, 1778. Buried in South Park Street Cemetery in the same vault as her brother Edward Collins (died 1781) her sister Jane Marriott (died 1780) and her grandmother Ann Chambers (died 1782).

Sept.	9.	Edward Drysdale, belonging to the Britannia E. Indiaman.
"	9.	John Ducunday, sergeant.
"	11.	John Munro.
"	11.	Young, a sergeant.
"	13.	Mr. Lee.
"	15.	Captain David Smith, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
"	18.	Samuel Platts, sergeant.
"	23.	John Draper, sailor.
"	24.	Mr. Charles Chalmers.
"	25.	William Ward, matross.
"	28.	Stephen Camp, gunner of the Britannia Indiaman.
Oct.	2.	Thomas Hemmy, matross of artillery.
"	5.	Thomas Waters, of the marine service.
"	6.	William Thompson, soldier.
"	6.	Thomas Clark.
"	7.	James Nelson, soldier.
"	8.	Thomas Mason, soldier.
"	14.	John Notley, soldier.
"	14.	Mr. George Fletcher, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
"	15.	Thomas Clare, soldier.
"	22.	Thomas Grady, invalid.
"	22.	Mr. Flim, inhabitant.
"	27.	John Blake, mariner.
"	29.	Benjamin Franklin, soldier.
"	30.	Murdoch McKenzie, soldier.
Nov.	2.	Thomas Eaken, invalid.
"	3.	Mr. David Wright.
"	5.	William Newland, gunner of artillery.
"	6.	John Cockrell, mariner.
"	12.	Captain Stephen McLeane.
"	13.	James Turvey, soldier.
"	15.	Mr. William Vertue, inhabitant.
"	17.	Thomas Day, sergeant.
"	20.	John Weston, soldier.
"	22.	Mr. Lewis Cousins Laplant, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
"	25.	David M'Swayne, soldier.
"	25.	Darby Roger, soldier.
Dec.	3.	Thomas Leighton, inhabitant.
"	12.	Samuel Wallis, soldier.
"	17.	Phillip Stone, soldier.
"	18.	Mr. James Barrow.
"	19.	Elisha Rollins, soldier.
"	20.	William Standford, soldier.
"	27.	James Robertson, soldier.

1780.

- Jan. 6. John Andrews, soldier.
 „ 30. Mr. Champion, cadet killed in a Duel.
 Feb. 16. Mr. Shuman, late of Chinsura.
 „ 17. Eleanor Hampton, a child.
 „ 25. George Hurst, Esqr., Member of the Board of Trade.
 Mar. 6. Mrs. (Ann) Naylor, wife of Mr. Maylor, Attorney at Law (39).
 „ 11. Mrs. Ware, wife of Captain Ware.
 „ 18. Mrs. Bryan Glover (40).
 „ 30. Mr. George Hodgson, Secretary to the Revenue Department (41).
 Apl. 15. Mr. William Mitchell, Surgeon.
 „ 23. Mr. Cuningham, inhabitant.
 May 19. John Brown, an infant.
 „ 20. John Collis, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Mr. Gilkrist, Surgeon of the Fox East Indiaman (42).
 „ 27. John Vincent, sailor.
 June 17. Mr. Ellington, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Jessey Bateman, in infant.
 July 12. Joseph Green, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Miss Leonora Fix, daughter of Mr. Fix of Serampore (42A).
 „ 15. Mr. Boyce, commander of a country vessel.
 „ 17. Frederick Stukeley Foster, an infant.
 „ 27. William Spencer, a European carpenter belonging to Col. Watson.
 „ 29. Mr. John Boggs, late commander of the Amazon Sloop.
 „ 30. Mrs. Bedell, wife of Lieut. Bedell.
 Aug. 4. Mr. William Blackburn.
 „ 8. Mr. John Taylor, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Mr. (Thomas North) Naylor, Attorney at Law.
 „ 29. William Chapman.
 „ 30. Lieut. Col. Benjamin Wilding in the Hon'ble Company's Service (43).
 „ 30. Michael Hurly, inhabitant.
 Sep. 2. Peter Connor, gunners mate of the True Briton E. Indiaman.
 „ 7. Mrs. Durham, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Mr. Kernan, belonging to one of Ye Europe ships.
 „ 8. Mr. Charles Malortic, inhabitant.

(39) Ann Bertie married Thomas North Naylor, the Company's attorney, on September 17, 1778. Her husband died on August 18 in this year (1780). See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 161.

(40) *Bryan Glover* was an attorney and free merchant. Married Elizabeth Stuart Cockerell, the sister of Charles Cockerell (afterwards baronet) on April 9, 1779.

(41) *George Hodgson*. Appointed Secretary in 1779.

(42) "The Surgeon of an East Indiaman expired in the street after eating a hearty Dinner of Beef; the thermometer was at 98°"—Hicky's Bengal Gazette for June 3-10, 1780, No. XX.

(42A) John Leonard Fix was chief of the Danish Factory at Serampore from 1772 to 1778.

(43) Commanding sepoy corps of the Second Brigade.

- Sep. 20. Mr. Charles Pipon, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Mr. James Hossack.
 Oct. 8. Mr. William Powers, commander of a country vessel.
 „ 11. Mr. Dalrymple.
 „ 13. Mr. Joseph Dunford, captain of a country ship.
 „ 19. Mr. James Isnell, shipwright.
 „ 24. Lieut. John Bushby, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 Nov. 2. Lieut. Col. John Green, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service (44).
 „ 19. Mr. Charles Lewis, Soderflycht.
 „ 24. Susannah Marriott, an infant.
 „ 26. Mr. William Philips, commander of a country ship.
 Dec. 3. John Burke, an infant.
 „ 30. Ensign Peal, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.

1781.

- Jan. 4. Mr. John Lomax, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Major Lewis Grant, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 23. Patrick Dyer, servant to Mr. Justice Hyde.
 Feb. 9. Mr. Richard Smith.
 Mar. 4. Mrs. Mary Bowers, many years inhabitant of this place (45).
 „ 8. Elizabeth Richardson, an inhabitant.
 „ 14. George Marshall, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Henry Swinhoe, an infant (46).
 Apl. 4. Mr. Bogle, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service (47).
 „ 20. Robena, natural daughter of Mr. Parks, commander of a country vessel.
 „ 21. Robert Lloyd, belonging to the pilot service.
 „ 21. Edward Dyer.
 „ 23. John Winter.
 „ 25. Charlotte Wordie, an infant.
 * A copy and duplicate sent to England per Belmont & Neptune 30th April 1781. William Johnson, Chaplain.
 May 5. Mr. James Duckworth, surgeon.
 „ 6. Mr. John Moore, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.

(44) Commissary of Stores, 1775-1778.

(45) A survivor of the capture of Calcutta in 1756. According to Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, "she concealed herself until after night in one of the warehouses in the Factory, from whence she made her escape on board a small vessel lying in the river opposite the Old Fort." Hicky has it that she was "fidgeted into the grave by fear of losing a large fortune which she had acquired by industry and frugality."

(46) The father Henry Swinhoe was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court in 1779, and died in Calcutta on October 27, 1808, aged 56. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 166.

(47) George Bogle of Tibet fame: see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 208. Was Commissioner of Law Suits from 1778 to 1779: and figures in William Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. II, p. 150) under the grotesque corruption of "Isaac Bonigh."

May	21.	William Lane, sergeant.
„	22.	Mr. William Spencer, inhabitant.
„	23.	Mrs. Diana Mullins, inhabitant.
„	25.	John Townshend, inhabitant.
„	25.	Lieut. Robert Young in the Hon. Co.'s Military Service.
„	29.	Elizabeth Ann Wilson, a child.
June	6.	Joseph Cooper, inhabitant.
„	6.	Mr. Blackwell.
„	9.	Mr. Patrick Simpson, inhabitant.
„	13.	Mr. David Groundwater, late Steward of the Earl of Dartmouth [Indiaman].
„	23.	Mr. James Smith, inhabitant.
„	30.	Archibold Pope, inhabitant.
July	3.	James Dennis.
„	3.	Christian Lang, inhabitant.
„	9.	Samuel Eyers, Esq., Lieut. of His Majesty's Nymphe sloop of war.
„	18.	James Todd, carpenter.
„	27.	Edward Bird, an infant.
Aug.	5.	Thomas Pearson, Esq., late a Major in the Hon. Co.'s Service (48).
„	5.	Rebecca Vaughan, an infant.
„	8.	Mr. Thomas Downs Wilmot, late commander of a country vessel (49).
„	9.	Mr. John Davis.
„	14.	Mr. William Maiben.
„	15.	Mr. Andrew Mitchell.
„	21.	John Gillies.
„	24.	Mr. John Cleveland, surgeon (50).
„	27.	Capt. McGregor, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
Sept.	19.	Lieut. Lewis Mordaunt.
„	26.	Joel Mouldson, inhabitant.
Oct.	1.	James Johnson, an infant.
„	2.	Mrs. Harding, widow.
„	12.	Mr. Thompson, commander of a country vessel.
„	27.	James Pearse, invalid.
„	30.	Mr. (James) Perkins, Attorney at Law.
„	31.	Mr. Milne, chief mate of the Fortitude East Indiaman.

(48) Major Thomas Pearson : aged 42 years : was " Agent for Meer Jaffir's Gift to Army ". Married Sarah Irwin at St. John's Church on December 2, 1767. She died on September 9, 1768, aged 19. Her tomb is the oldest existing in the South Park Street Cemetery.

(49) Commander of the ship *Gocool Dutt*.

(50) *John Cleveland*—was William Hickey's ship-mate on board the *Seahorse* in 1777 (Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 103). They lived together on arrival in Calcutta in Mrs. Ogden's house on the Esplanade (*ibid*, p. 133) but parted Company after a few months in April 1778. Hickey mentions (Vol. III, p. 147) that he " died of a bilious fever ".

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- Nov. 4. Mr. Collins, a midshipman belonging to the Fortitude East
Indiaman.
,, 10. Edward Collins Chambers, an infant.
,, 29. William Blake.
Dec. 9. Sarah Williams, an infant.
,, 15. Mr. Lance, captain of a country vessel.
,, 16. John Brayson, sergeant.
,, 18. Mr. Burns Walker.

[The entries are signed at the end of each month by William Johnson,
Chaplain.]

EVAN COTTON.

An Account of our Party at Patna Attacking the City, the 25th June, 1763.

ON the 25th June about one o'clock in the morning the Troops were Ordered under arms and Divided into three Divisions which consists of as follows: The 1st Division—Capt. Charles Ernot Jacker, Lieut. Morris Roach, Ensign Hugh M'Kay, Private men, 44. The 2nd Division—Capt. Henry Somers, Ensign Sam Bluwitt, Ensign John Perry, Private men, 44. The 3rd Division—Capt. Ambroze Perry, Ensign Jno. Armstrong, Ensign Willm. Crawford, Private men, 44.

The Divisions being telled off and compleated we orderd the men into their Barricks as there was some drizzling rain; about a Qr. before 2 o'clock Capt. Carstairs came on the parade and ordered the Officers to their own Divisions and see that they were served 36 rounds each man; when compleated Capt. Carstairs called for Lieut. Thomas Puckering and Ensign John Guntree and ordered them to stay in the Gardens, with three or four Companys of the Aukward Seapoys, to take care of the Bagage. About 2 o'clock the whole marched to a mosk opposite Capt. Carstairs Gardens, when we passed the guns and here marched into the Road that leads from Mitipoor right to the Chuta Mutna of Patna, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from Meer Abdoosta. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock took ten Harcarrahs in the Road way, put them under a Guard of Seapoys and kept them along with us, about 4 in the morning we escalated the Bastion on the south face of the city to the right of the Chuta Mutna, where we entered. All the time we were entering the Seapoys on the Cillasse kept a very heavy fire upon us, but did no damage, Capt. Carstairs finding it was impossible to stop them from firing, and that the Europians was very much exposed to their fire, ordered us under a Bank that we might be more secure from their fire, and to halt till the next of the Europeans was got in, as there was only the 1st Division and $\frac{1}{2}$ the 2nd; the time that we were here was about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, to the best of my Judgment, and then marched from the west gate. In the way we was a little Trubbeled with the enemy in firing a few shott out from their straw houses, but did us no damage; when arrived at the gate-way met with no resistance, and found the gate shutt, we opened it and halted at this place a small time, where we found Serjt. Price of Capt. Tabby's battalion of Seapoys killed. We marched on from the gate opposite our Factory, when we came there the enemy had been routed by Capt. Tabby's Seapoys, but finding the gate shutt we opened and let Lieut. Downey with 3 Companys of Seapoys belonging to Capt. Turner's Battalion in, Capt. Tabby's Battalion still engaging in the front and Ensign John Bluwitt with some companies of Seapoys was engaging some of the enemy, that was inlodged in

Meer Abdoola's House. We halted about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour and had something sent us out of the Factory, to refresh us. In this time there was a message arrived to Capt. Carstairs that the 3rd Division and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 2nd were engaging in the main street. He immediately ordered us to face to the right and march to the west gate where we found them engaging some of the enemy in the main street. We joyned the 3rd Division and $\frac{1}{2}$ the 2nd and found a few of the enemys horse which we soon despersed, still we kept marching on, with the loss of a few men towards the Killa where we fired a shott or two, we not seeing any Body, but the Burgandasses who was making off as fast as they could, we left the Killa and marched for the east side where we halted 3 or 4 hours. Lieut. Downey and Lieut. Perry and Ensn. Krafts we despatched to the Killa as the enemy had got in again in a small time. After they were marched Ensn. Krafts came back and informed us that they were engaging the enemy very hott, but that Lieut. Perry was wounded and Lieut. Downey very much, and was not able to get off. In about 2 or 3 minutes, Lieut. Perry was brought in wounded, by a Seapoy. Still the Europeans remaining on the east Bastion, in about half an hour after Lieut. Perry was brought in, we was informed that the enemy had drove the Seapoy's that was with Lieut. Downey and that he was cutt to pieces; in a little time after this the enemy took possession of the Bastion that overlooked us. The Europeans gave them a fire and went to the right about and would not obey the word of command, but never stopt till they reached our factory, which [was] about $\frac{1}{2}$ o'clock to the best of my judgment. I dont think there was above a hundred men of the enemy that drove us out of the City. Still kept firing from our Factory upon the Enemy the remainder of the afternoon, and kept up a small fire all the night. An account of the Officer's killed and wounded as follows:—Killed: Capt. Ambroze Perrey, 3rd Division; Lieutenant Downey, in the Seapoys; Lieut. M'Dowell, Quarter Master; Lieut. Reed, in the Artillery. Officers wounded as follows:—Capt. Charles Ernot Jacker, Capt. George Willson, Lieut. Richd. Perry. Serjeants and Private men wounded and killed in all:—Men wounded and killed, 37; Artillery men wounded and killed, 10.

June the 26th, 1763.—In the morning we began to canonade which the enemy returned and killed us a man or two, and we kept up a very brisk fire from the top of the house and our boats which the enemy did return. About 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon have a shot or two out of the Howit which did the enemy some damage, but they still kept a brisk fire upon us. Mr. Ellis and Messrs. Lushington, Hewitt and Capt. Carstairs went in to Mr. Ellis's room and held a council what was best to be done; in about half and hour it was determined to leave the Factory and proceed for Souja Dowlah's country, on that they sent Dr. Fullarton who talks the country language well. About 3 o'clock we had a chitt from Doctor Fullarton who acquainted us he had got 40 or 50 boats. In the evening, about 6, Capt. Wm. James Tabby was ordered out with his battalion of Seapoys to the Sand beyond the French factory to cover our retreat. At 8 went out of the Factory Mr. Ellis with the rest of the factory gentlemen employed from 8 to 9 in getting the money out which amounted to about a lack of

rupees. The Europeans and Capt. Turner's battalion of Seapoys marched out of the Factory about 11 o'clock to the best of my judgment. We took the Howet with us but only 30 rounds of grape. Lieut. Thomas Puckering was ordered to stay in the Factory for half an hour, after that we had marched out, and kept up a brisk fire on the enemy; about 2 we came to the Ground where was appointed to meet the boats but did not find them. We halted a minute or two, and we had intelligence that the boats were 2 coss in our front, we marched immediately for them and joyned about 3 o'clock and embarked immediately for the other side of the river. I was embarked on board Capt. Wilson's Budgerow with 30 men and Mr. Ellis, about 4 o'clock we arrived on the other side where we halted all the night.

June the 27th, 1763:—The morning strong gales with drizzling rain our boats employed in bringing over the Seapoys. About 10 o'clock the whole got over, we halted here till the afternoon. About 8 in the morning we were alarmed by a few stragling horse. The Howit* and some of Capt. Tabby's Seapoys advanced in the Tope in front, a Qr. guard mounted, which consisted of 30 Europeans and one Subelton, orders that the Companies to be reviewed at 4 in the evening the boats proceeded up the river with the wounded men.

June the 28th, 1763:—At day break we marched about one coss, and reached a village where we halted, and refreshed, till there in the afternoon, we found in the Fhusdar's house a cammel which we used the freedom of carrying along with us, and some carriage bullocks. We marched about 5 coss, and found out a village where we halted all night.

June the 29th, 1763:—At half past two this morning we marched, and our boats proceeded up the river, we came to Chuppra about 8 and a few of the gentlemen stopped there at our Factory where they found about 3 dozen of different kind of Liquors which was very agreeable to us for we did not carry any along with us, found also some turkeys with some other poultry which was divided amongst the gentlemen, and soldiers. We marched on a coss further, and halted in a Tope near a village, where we sent and alarmed two or three times, and ordered under arms, as there was a party of horse near us as we understood that the Fhusdar whose name is Ramnidu had collected about 1000 Foot and 200 Horse. To the best of my judgment, we marched off the ground about 4. and halted about 4 coss from hence. Capt. Turner's battalion having the rear guard, informed us that just as they left the ground, a party of the enemy's horse took possession, which made us keep a very good look out all night. We had intelligence from our boats that they had been pursued by some of the Enemy's boats from Budgepoore, and that they had taken two of our small boats, two of our Seapoys that was in that fray that was wounded came to us which made us very anxious about them, as they had both our money and Treasure on board them. Notwithstanding we did not endeavour to join them soon this evening which proved very unfortunate.

* Howitzer.

June the 30th, 1763:—We had no alarm all this night. We marched about 3. Scarcely could find anybody to be our guide as our chief's servants and harcarras had left him, our intention was to joyn our boats, we crossed a Nulla which was betwixt us and the river, we marched betwixt them, about 7 o'clock we saw in front a stand of red collours about a coss distance which we took to be some Chokee, but on our advancing prety brisk on them we found there was about 50 Burgandasses. Immediately Capt. Tabby's battalion of Seapoys marched to right, in order to cut them off from the water, but they took to the water and most part of them was drowned, two or three took prisoner, but we could not learn anything from them. At this ground we intended to halt, till we brought up our rear and as we was no more than a coss from the place where we intended to embark, but hearing a firing in our rear, we found that our rear guard was attacked by the enemy, and they were advancing on us very brisk. Immediately beat to arms, and marched to meet them. They appeared in number about 2000 foot and 2000 horsemen. Our men were in very good spirits, and marched on in a very regular manner, and Capt. Turner's battalion behaved extremely well, and kept up a very brisk fire which did the enemy a great deal of damage, which put them to the right about. Still marching after them, when we came to the Nulla, the Europeans halted, Capt. Tabby's and Capt. Turner's battalions still pursuing the enemy. When we had crossed the Nullah the enemy began to canonade them very briskly, we think on account that one Summerow [Sumroo] with 5 or 6 Companys of Seapoys joyned them this day, with 4 or 5 piece of cannon. Marched out from the Nulla upon a good piece of ground, where we halted all this day and this night.

July the 1st, 1763:—Marched about 2 this morning along the river side to joyn our boats. About day break, saw the enemy, in a tope abreast of us, they marched out of the tope and crossed the Nulla and began to cannonade us very brisk, upon this we marched two or three passes in the front, as we was too nigh the river, and sat down that we might be more secure from the enemy's cannonade. About 10 we got the Howetz ashore, out of the boat, and fired a round or two of grape, but fell short of them. They still kept up a very brisk fire upon us, but did not do us any damage. Captain Carstairs was wounded by a cannon shott about 12 o'clock. We sent him over to the boats, to be dressed. Captain Tabby took the Command. We still remain in the same way; about 3 o'clock Mr. Ellis sent some gin over to the men. The enemy still kept a very brisk cannonading upon us. About 6 the enemy's left wing marched and joined their right wing, and came down on us. Immediately we marched down to front them, the enemy kept a very heavy fire with grape, which our people took a Pannick and went to the right about, and took the river. I finding that my platoon had left, made to the river, and swam over, and got to Capt. Wilson's Budgerow. Everybody in great confusion. Capt. Wilson finding it was all over with us, he immediately pushed down the river.

July the 2nd, 1763:—This morning was boarded by a Chowkey boat, gave them 20 Rupees and they let us go. Still kept going down the river,

saw a Jamidar with some Sepoys & an elephant, they fired a shot or two at us, but would not stop, but still kept driving down to Hodgepoor. About 3 arrived there, and delivered ourselves up to the Fhusdar. In number 6 of us, whose names are as follows: Capt. Carstairs, Capt. Wilson, Ensn. Armstrong, Ensn. M'Kay, Doctor Anderson and Mr. Campbell. Capt. Carstairs very bad of his wound. The people behaved very well to us, they did not take anything from us. Nothing more remarkable these four and twenty hours.

July the 3rd, 1763:—Captain Wilson went up to the Fhusdar, received a chitt from Dr. Fullarton who was a prisoner at Patna and acquainted us that he was extremely well used and would have us come over as soon as possible. Capt. Carstairs extremely ill of his wound and smelt very strong, this day the Fhusdar got a house to put Carstairs in, which removed him into & had Budgrew washed and cleaned. Capt. Carstairs departed this life about 4 in the afternoon, we applied to the Fhusdar for a coffin for him which we had made. Buried him about 5.

Had for dinner to-day some roast mutton & curry, the Fhusdar made Capt. Wilson a present of a Huckaw and 2 bottles of the country arrack which was very good. Nothing more these 24 hours.

July the 4th, 1763:—This morning came down the Fhusdar's son and took an account of our cloathing and things that we had in the boats, and acquainted us that we was to go Patna. Had for dinner to-day some mutton and curry; nothing more these 24 hours.

July the 5th, 1763:—The first part fair weather. The Fhusdar came down himself in order to go with us, he went in another boat, we reached Killa about 12 o'clock. Capt. Wilson was sent for up, we remained in the boat, as the Nabob was not yet come in from riding, about 2 we was sent for, and was received in a verry genteel manner by the Nabob, where we met Fullarton. He ordered us some Victuals, and gave us a beetle [betel], which is a mark of friendship, and put us under care of his brother, who is an extremely good man, did all that lay in his power to oblige us. In the evening he called us into his own apartment, and sent for some Country arrack and entertained us in a genteelest manner. The Nabob himself came in and set himself down along with us, and talked very free with us, and Doctor Fullarton. About 8 Doctor Fullarton came and acquainted us that we were to set out for Mongheer to-night, but Capt. Wilson went to the Nabob's brother, and obtained liberty to stay this night. In the morning we set out about 8 o'clock, the Nabob's brother went with us to the water side and see our things in the boat. This day reached Bahar, our guard was very troublesome to us, for they shutt the Budgerow windows, and lashed their boats along side of us, halted there this night.

July the 6th, 1763:—This morning set out for Bahar, for Mongheer, and reached Gunje and lay there all this night, our Guard behaved a little better than the two days before; our boys went on shore and brought us some milk for our supers. Nothing more happened these 24 hours.

July 7th, 1763:—This morning set out from Nabob's Gunje for Mongheer, arrived below it about 5 o'clock, and was obliged to track up

to the fort, had for dinner to-day some rice and curry and lay very near the fort all this night and there was nobody come to ask us who we was, or what we were, whether men or beasts. Had for supper some rice and curry with some mutton stake. Still remaining in the Budgerow; nothing happened more these 24 hours.

July the 8th, 1763:—This morning gave some cloaths to the washerwoman, had for dinner to-day some rice and curry and stakes, received nothing from the Nabob to subsist upon, but still remaining in the Budgerow, nobody came near us but a dirty fellow of a Dutchman who had been in our service before. I judge he was sent by Gunger [query: Gurgin] Cawn, nothing more happens these 24 hours.

July 9th, 1763:—This morning have some more to the washerwoman to be washed. Still remaining in the Budgerow without anybody enquiring anything about us, received a chitt from Capt. Harris who informed us that they were allowed half a sear of coarse rice a man, and that he was prisoner with 3 more whose names are as follows:—Captain Johnson, Captain Place, Serjt. Anderews. Our Boy informed us that the Harcarry had got a purwannah to carry us up to Patna, still remaining here for want of dandye, had for dinner to-day some rice and curry; nothing more happened these 24 hours.

July 10th, 1763:—This morning gave to the washerwoman some cloaths. Still remaining in the Budgerow at the Gott, the Harracarrah brought six dandies down to the boats, but more my coolys than any thing else, about the evening there were 4 of them run away, which stop our going away. To-day had for dinner some mutton curry. Came on board three Armenians. Capt. Wilson asked them the favour to carry thirty rupees to Capt. Harris and the rest of them that was confined with him, but they denied. Nothing happen, no more, only Mr. Campbell's boy run away with 30 Rupees of his. Nothing more these 24 hours.

July the 11th, 1763:—This morning pretty fair weather, gave the washerwoman some more cloath to wash, rec'd no more dandyes, still remaining at the Gott. Had for dinner to-day some rice & curry. This day came down and landed. At this got our 24 pounder with the transport & cartridge, nothing happens more these 24 hours.

July 12th, 1763:—This morning the Jemidar of our guard sent some of his people and brought 14 dandies, set out about 12 o'clock for Patna. Went about 6 coss this day, and halted here all night. Nothing more these 24 hours.

(Here this narrative ends. It seems to have been written by Ensign M'Kay.)

*DR. ANDERSON'S NARRATIVE.

June 3rd being the anniversary of the Battle of Plassy, we all dined at the Factory, when it was easy to observe by the faces of the Gentlemen that somewhat of importance was on the Carpets, for our Council had been

* This narrative has already been published in "The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna 1763" and is reproduced to strengthen complement Ensign MacKay's account.

sitting and orders were issued out for the Guards to be relieved by the Aukward Men, and to the Capt'n to meet the Commanding Officer at his quarters at 8 in the evening. It seems the Gentlemen at the Factory had advice of Mr. Amyatt's Negotiation at Mongeer being broke off and a Day appointed for his Departure, also that a strong Detachment of Horses and Sepoys, to the number of 3,000 with 6 guns, were on their March to Patna, so that as War seemed inevitable they thought it best to strike the first stroke, by possessing themselves of the City of Patna. However they were willing to wait for certain advises from Mr. Amyatt, accordingly the 24th at night, in Consequence of that advice, orders were given to attack the City. Next morning about one, the Troops were under Arms, and marched off at two—about two Companys of Aukward Men with two officers left at the Gardens for a Guard. In the following Order Capt'n Tabby's Sepoys and the Europeans were to March to the right of the Chuta Montenal (alias Bastion) with their Scaling Ladders, etc., and enter there, Captains Turner and Wilson with four Companys each and two pieces of canon were to proceed to the west gate and enter there, while Lieut. Downie, with three Companys, Escaladed opposite the Factory. Capt'n Finch with the remainder of the Guns was stationed in Mr. Howitt's Compound, in order to fire upon the Walls, and be as a signal for general attack; three pieces 3 pounders, with two Companys of Seapoys, were to keep up a Constant fire from the Top of the Factory house.

Capt'n Carstairs with the Europeans and Tabby's Seapoys after entering passed along the N. W. front and opened the gates so that the other partys with the two guns passed in without any difficulty, we possessed ourselves soon of all the bastions but had great difficulty in going up the great street as there was a great fire from the North side—at which we lost men and officers, but at length proceeded to the Killa, into which the only force in the City had retired. The Subah with most of his Jemidars had left the City and we now began to think ourselves secure, but alas how greatly mistaken. Lieut. Downie and Perry with some Sepoys had gone quite thro' the Kella to the water side. Our Europeans were in possession of the East gate with one of our guns but all the rest of our Sepoys were dispersed in plundering so that scarce 100 could be got together. Everybody was quite fatigued having marched thro' thick mud and had no refreshments, when near ten o'clock, about 120 of the Enemy entered the Kella and drove some Seapoys who were there before them. The Europeans and other Seapoys seeing this followed their Examples, and so scarce looked back, till they got to the Factory. A party of Marcott's Seapoys who belonged to the Detachments to reinforce the City arrived with some guns soon after, and began to fire on the Factory house. Thus ended this unfortunate affair and without great loss and effusion of blood. The Enemy must have suffered much but can give no particulars. Our Loss is as follows:—

Killed	}	Captain Perry, Lieut. Downie, Lieut. McDonall, Lieut. Read,
		And about 6 Europeans.
Wounded	}	Captain Jacker, Captain Wilson, Lieut. Perry, 10
		Europeans, and 100 Seapoys.

Our whole Force Consisted of—
50 Europeans Rank & File.
40 Artillery.
2,200 Sepoys.

Killed and deserted, but mostly the latter and, I believe, loaded with Plunder, one thousand Seapoys with Officers in proportion; lost two field pieces which could not be brought off.

At six in the evening the Guard for the Gardens was called in and arrived soon after. After the Disaster the Council was called, in which the Captains were desired to attend. That they might consult what was best to be done in our present Circumstances, various were the opinions on this occasion.

1st.—The Factory being but small and badly provided with provision and firewood for above 1200 Seapoys and 200 Europeans, besides we must have expected to have been entirely shut up with the fresh Troops which would have come from Mongheer. Therefore to defend it was thought of no purpose. 2nd.—To take Boats and proceed by water to Calcutta, but in the first place boats could not be procured for such number, and must have expected opposition at Mongheer, where intelligence must arrive one day before us. 3rd.—To cross the River and march down on the opposite side. This must have been to sacrifice many, as we must have embarked in the face of a numerous enemy, and had doubtless Troops ready opposite Mongheer to meet us, besides it was impossible without Bullocks and Coolies to have either guns or much of ammunitions with us, therefore the final determination with us and indeed had the most chance of succeeding, was to procure by force as many boats as we could, send them up to Phytazy pass, to cross the river there, with one Howitz, march up the Sircar Serang country, and so cross over to Sujah Dowlah's country. This was approved of, but boats could not be procured that night; on the day following having got as many boats as we could, and sent them up to the pass, we prepared everything for evacuating the Factory, in the interim a very brisk and incessant fire, of both great guns and musketry, was kept up on both sides, in which we lost a European, 3 or 4 Seapoys. About 10 at night we got our sick Europeans and Treasure about one laak, embarked. Soon after Capt. Tabby's Seapoys were ordered to march out to the ground to the northward of the French Factory, and there wait for the Europeans, Mr. Ellis with a Company of Seapoys from that Body, attended by some Civilians, made the best of their way to the Boats. Capt. Carstairs, with the Europeans and Turner's Seapoys, kept up a brisk fire till near 12 o'clock, and everything being quite ready spiked up the guns, etc., and marched out, and so proceeded to the boats without the least molestation. About two we began to cross as quickly as possible and without confusion, and before one-third was over it began to blow and rain so that the boats could not cross. In the meantime those who had crossed were alarmed with a body of horse running to attack them. They beat to arms, got the Howitz ready and advanced 2 or 300 yards to be clear of the village and so waited for them, but they thought

proper to keep at a distance. About 10 the weather changed fair, and wind moderate, so that in the afternoon every body was crossed over even our Horses. We began to prepare for marching, accordingly the Sick, Treasure, and Howitz, with part of the ammunition, were to go by water for want of Coolies, etc., while the army marched by land, on account of the sick I went by water. In the afternoon about 5 o'clock the army marched, and we got under sail with a fair wind, being about 30 boats in all, here I was greatly disappointed for the Boat with my cloths, Instruments, Medicines, and servants did not arrive, so that I imagine this must have stopt. We sailed the best part of the night and then came to at daylight got way, and hauled at Cheran, soon after we were alarmed with 2 or 3 companys of Seapoys which we discovered on the opposite shore, and observing them drawing some boats together we sent immediate advice to Mr. Ellis, who sent a company of Seapoys to reinforce us for we had only 50. About 5 the Army joined us.

June 29th.—Early got under way but our Budgerow being heavy, we generally brought up the rear. Those Seapoys of the enemy having got three boats chased us until about 8 o'clock, but having a fresh wind, and by the help of our oars, we happily got clear. A Guard Boat and another in our rear fell in with them, the former cleared herself after a brisk fire, but the other was taken. The Seapoys having jumped overboard after having two killed and two wounded. We entered this afternoon the River Duah, brought to within a Coss of the Army, about three coss above Choprah.

30.—Got under way but made a bad hand of it, the stream being very strong in this river which obliged us to put to the other shore, when we discovered within a mile of us two stand of colours and some horse which obliged us to put into the stream, and getting foul of another boat broke our rudder. We were taken in tow by two Guard boats, who with great labour brought us to the ground, we left in the morning, here we patched up our rudder as well as we could, and was greatly assisted in it by Mr. Place, who came in the Pinnacle for that purpose; we observed several villages on fire about a coss from us and heard of one Somero with four or five companys of Seapoys and three or four guns having crossed over hereabout in order to join Ramnidy, the fousdar of the country, who has got together about three thousand horse and foot in order to oppose us. We got to the fleet with great danger and difficulty, for we had near overset two or three times. When we joined them had the agreeable news of our having defeated Ramnidy that morning, and killed about 200 of his people. In the evening had an account of Somero's having joined him and their having encamped within a coss of our Troops. The place we now lay at is an Island opposite the upper end of which our people are encamped, but the stream is too strong for us to get round to them. Therefore having informed Mr. Ellis of it, we are ordered to proceed to the lower end, where in the morning they will march down to us. About 400 men horse and foot are on the opposite shore attending our motions, but they have only one boat.

July 1st.—We drop'd down and joined the army and immediately landed our Howitz, but before they could get it mounted, the enemy appeared and began a brisk cannonade with 3 or 4 pieces of canon, our people—beat to arms and drew up with the River which forms the island on their left and two pretty high banks with the great river about 200 yards behind them in their rear much as follows.

They seemed not inclined to attack us, therefore our people all set down in order to be more safe from the cannonade which was brisk about 8 o'clock. Mr. Ellis and all the civil gentlemen except Mr. Lushington came over to the island to the Boats. We began soon after to transport over the baggage, by which means great number of Seapoys stole over and concealed themselves in the jungle. The enemy seeing their fire did but little effect us, slacked it much; however, about 11, an unlucky shot hit Captain Carstairs as he was sitting down, it entered the inside of his thigh and passed out at his side, from the nature of it it must be mortal, all the day after we had only two or three Seapoys killed and as many wounded. Mr. Ellis had resolved if possible to attack the enemy in the evening, and so cross to the island and thence to Budgero side, where we had not above a coss to march out of the Province. In the evening it was thought by Captain Tabby who commanded, and most of the other officers that it was very impracticable to attack the enemy in their present disposition, more especially as they found they had lost one-third of their Seapoys, so that their present force would not exceed 700 Seapoys with the Europeans, which were about 180 including the artillery, while they were deliberating on the matter, they were alarmed by the enemy being in motion and advancing on them. We beat to arms. The party of the enemy on the right marched, and joined the main body, who advanced and kept firing from all their artillery, when they came within a proper distance Turner's battalion gave their fire regularly, but could not observe any regular fire from the right, only a universal popping. Some few European Platoon gave their fire, and then on a Grape coming amongst them, they went to the right about, which threw everything into the utmost confusion, and everybody sought their safety in flight, some swam to the island, and brought us the melancholy news. The boat people were frightened by the numbers that came pressing on them, and put off at a small distance from the shore. It was with difficulty that our Budgerow could get disengaged from the numbers that clung to her, at last by force we got at a small distance, having on board Captain Carstairs, Captain Wilson, Dr. Campbell and myself. Ensign Armstrong and M'Kay, who had swam to the island*, came off to us with two soldiers, and five or six gentlemen's servants, and three or four seapoys, and six women, and six children, in this confusion we observed many boats going off and knew not what to do for the best. To escape was impossible, therefore we resolved as we were already sufficiently full of people to proceed down to Patna if possible, and so surrender ourselves

*This identifies the writer of the previous account to have been Ensign M'Kay.

prisoners to the Subah, accordingly we put off, and in passing the Jungle, which was in the rear of our Army, was hailed and fired at, two or three times, but could not think of going to the shore, else, the crowd would certainly have sunk the boat, we rowed down as softly as possible, in order to avoid alarming the Chowkees, which are pritty many in this River. We were often hailed, but made no answer. We got our mast down in order to Disfigure the boat and procured *Jummahs* and *Turbands* for as many of us as We said threw many things overboard lest they should betray who We were, no Swords, Coats, Sashes, etc., and thus spent a most Melancholy night with poor Carstairs and all of us in the cabin, with women and children, and every moment expecting to be stopt by Chokees, who might have found an interest to have murdered us all for the sake of plunder, for we had about twenty thousand Rupies of the Company's on board. Near to Mongheer, as we imagined it to be, our boat ran aground, which perplexed us much, and a boat had kept us company for one hour, which we suspected much. In short, we were wavering whether to go ashore or not and take our fate by land, but could not think of leaving Carstairs, who tho' mortally wounded was perfectly sensible, it must have added to his uneasiness to have his friends leave him helpless in such distress, however while we were aground we lost sight of the boats that accompanied us, and having got off and in the proper channel we preceeded down till about dawn of day, when we were met by a Jemedar on an elephant, with about one hundred attendants, who were marching up. They hailed us, and desired us to stop. We told them we were a Dutch Budgerow from Chopra, we not stoping they fired on us, and I believe we would have come too had it not been for a boy of Captain Turner's who told us it was the best to proceed on till we were stopt by force, and then tell them we were going to the Nabob, which we thought very just; by brisk rowing we got clear of the people, without anybody being hurt, and were not troubled with any more, except a small boat with three Moores, who came on board, and told us they were a Chokee; we desired them to take us to Patna, but they seemed better pleased that we should given them Buxes so we gave them twenty Rupies, and they left us, when we drew near to the Sengia River we judged it would be better to go to Hodgepoor and surrender ourselves, as we might meet with milder treatment there than from the people at Patna, who were highly incensed. Besides the Fousdar being a brother of Meer Abdoula's might use us better on that account.

The 2nd.—About noon we arrived at Hodgepoor, and were kindly received by the Fousdar's son, his Father being at Patna.

The 3rd.—Poor Carstairs died on shore, at a small house that had been provided for him, we had a coffin made and had him buried as decently as circumstances would allow. The same day had a Chit from Dr. Fullerton, who desired us to come over to Patna, told us we would meet with genteel usage from the Subah.

Monday, the 4th.—Had our effects taken account of, and were to be sent over to Patna next day; our treatment here was very easy, having several provisions sent us from the Fousdar, but find our Guards and his Servants

very troublesome for Buxes, which we find best to satisfie. Heard from the Fhousdar that our Army had marched, that Mr. Amyatt had goen down, but Mr. Hay and another gentleman still continued at Mongheer.

Tuesday, the 5th.—Our Fhousdar and our Guard accompanied us over to Patna; we landed at the Killa and were brought to the Durbar, when were kindly received by Mindy Aly Cawn, and had victuals brought us in plenty, after giving us Beetle we were shown to our appartments, under the care of Mirza Caleil, near relation of his own, who, for the short time we remained with him, did his utmost to render things as agreeable as possible to us, even the most menial services he sent for us to his own room, and had some country spirit for us to drink of, gave orders to bring up all our things, and that there might not be the least thing touched, we thought ourselves extremely happy in such gentle usage, for the Nabob himself came in, sat down with us at Mirza Caleil's, and told us he expected Mr. Ellis with 30 gentlemen and 120 soldiers the next day, for they had set out from Chopra. At 9 we returned to our appartments, where Mr. Fullarton came an hour after, and acquainted us that orders had come for sending us to Mongheer, and we must go immediately. This surprised us much as it was very dark, and the stream rapid, but by speaking to our friend Mirza Caleil it was put off till the morning, accordingly we got all ready and had every thing sent to the Budgerow, where he went himself to see us safely delivered to the Jemedar, who had charge of us, he had sent some bread and roasted kid into the boat for our use, which we took very kind. Captain Wilson with great difficulty persuaded him to accept of his sword as a compliment.

Wednesday, the 6th.—In the morning we put off with two Guard boats and some Seapoys with us in the Budgerow. We had not got out of sight of the Killa when the boats were lashed along side the better to secure us and so we drove down like a log, but they soon found it inconvenient as well as us, and cast loose, one going ahead the other astern of us, and then we went on till we got to Bar, where we halted for the night; our Guard was so careful of us to-night as to keep all the Cabin windows fast by running a rope quite round them.

Thursday, 7th.—Early we got under way, and proceeded down to Nabobgunje, where we made a hearty meal of Cutcheree and Dram of Country Arrack our Friend at Hodgepoor had given us.

Friday, 8th.—Cast loose and proceeded to Mongheer, which makes no a bad appearance from the river, where you have a front view of the palace his Excellency has lately built there, with a Breast Work before it for thirty guns; it began to rain and blow about twelve by which means we drove past it, and were obliged to tract up above a mile, and at 5 arrived at the gate close to the lower part of the Fort. Our Harcarrah went on shore with the letter, but had nobody came to us but a rascal of a German who had been formerly in our service; he pretended to have come from the Nabob to know our number, names, and nation.*

*Probably Somers, called Somroo.

Saturday, the 9th.—As nobody has come to-day to enquire whether we want victuals, and even our Harcarrah not returned, it is matter of surprise to our Guards as well as to ourselves, we went to the Busar for what we want in the eating way, having money to the Amount of 800 Rupees.

Sunday, 10th.—A Servant of Mr. Place's brought us a Chit giving us an Account of Messrs. Johnston and Harris with two Europeans more belonging to the boats with arms, which the Nabob stopped, being close prisoners, having only half a Seer of coarse rice a day each for their subsistence, that they were in want of some cloaths which they beg us to send if we could spare, they mention also their having 10 Rs. given them 2 days before, to buy Meal, etc. They had surrendered themselves at Patna to Mr. Marcott, who finding them merchants gave them leave to go down if they could, but they found it impossible to pass the Chokee boats at Mongheer, which are placed on both sides of the river pretty close, besides every sand in the middle of the river has one or two: all of them have seapoys in them as the servant who brought the Chit had a Seapoy with him, and our Guard would scarce permit him to come in the boat. We found it impossible to send them cloths, we therefore put up 20 Rups., and wrote a Chit giving them an account of our situation, etc., but they kept so good a look out that we could not find an opportunity of sending it. Three Armenians came on board to us who gave us news of our Army being at Cutaway, we wanted them to deliver the money to Johnston, etc., but they declined it as they were strangers, and had only come to trade. To-night we had an account from our Harcarrah that we were to return to Patna, and he was providing Dandies for that purpose.

Monday, 11th.—The Harcarrah got the Purwanna for our going, but could not procure Dandies. The Jemedar of our Guard sent and pressed about a dozen in the evening, so would not set off till to-morrow. Within these few days a large boat or two has brought to this Gatt our two twenty-four pounders with carriages, and Transport Carriages with which they carried them off.

Tuesday, 12th.—We set out in our way to Patna with a fair wind but strong stream. That afternoon, about 4 coss from Mongheer, we passed Marcott encamped with a party of Seapoys who are going to Mongheer, heard that Captain Turner and two other officers came down with him and had gone on to Mongheer, we stopped a coss above them.*

Wednesday, 13th.—Got early under way, and at Nabobgunje met about five or six companys of Seapoys with two pieces of cannon & a few horse and 96 of our Europeans who had taken service, but gave us to understand it was to avoid bad usage, with a view of making their escape. They told us Mr. Ellis and all the other gentlemen had gone down to Mongheer, excepting Lieutenant Pickring and Ensign Croft who were either killed or drowned on the 1st. We crossed the river and sailed up within a sand island, when getting aground obliged us to stop for the night about a coss below Ruinulla on the opposite shore.

*This is where the previous narrative stops.

Thursday, 14th.—Not finding water for us within the Island, and the current being too strong without it, we crossed the river again by which we drove a coss back, and had great danger and difficulty in tracking up to Ruin-ulla, as the stream was very strong and the banks fell in very frequent. In passing the Nulla we observed three flag elephants with about 2,000 horses and foot crossing in boays on their way to Mongheer. In the afternoon, being within a large island, we had a fair wind and smooth water which run us within two coss of Deriapoor, where we brought too for the night.

Friday, 15th.—We proceeded up fairly as there was little wind, at 11 we stop at Deriapoor to Dress our victual. In the meantime, three companys of Seapoys, mostly our own, who had taken service arrived here on their way down. At 1 we put off with a pretty breeze, and at sunset reached Mohera, about two coss below Ponnerac.

Saturday, 16th.—Early we got under way with a fair wind, about 8 passed Ponnerac, and at 12 we stopt at Bar to dress victuals, here were a large body of horse and Seapoys encamped with most of our Guns, etc., in their charge, their Rout is for Mongheer. At 2 put off, went 2 coss further.

Sunday, 17th.—We set out early with a brisk wind, which continuing all day brought us to within a mile of Jaffer Cawn's Gardens at sunset.

Monday, 18th.—Got under way at 5 and arrived at the Killa about 9, where after waiting two hours we were ordered up to the Diwan, as the Nabob was not at home, who ordered dinner for us. Here we remained pestered with flies and heat till about 8 o'clock when we were sent for by the Nabob, who as before received us very kindly, ordered chairs for us to sit on, gave a Hooker to Capt. Wilson, and told us not to be uneasy for we might look on ourselves as at home, that he would provide a proper place for us in a few days, as that we were in was very hot, we should sleep in a Bungelo above stairs. We took our leave, and thought ourselves happy in falling into so good hands. The Bungelo was the Deruans sleeping place, it was cleared accordingly and we ordered from our hot apartment, where we regaled ourselves with the refreshing breeze till near 11, soon after our supper came which we paid little regard to, it being so late. Our Guard consisting of 20 Burgondosses and 5 Seapoys slept on the Terras, while we crept into the Bungelo, where we found but little rest as it was swarming with Buggs and Muskittas.

Tuesday, 19th.—At day light we were roused out and returned to our hott room. Our Jentoo Friend the Dewan I believe was not well pleased at our sleeping within for he ordered Matts and carpets to be taken off and washed, and took immediate possession himself, giving us his Dewan Canna to ourselves, except a small part divided by a purda for his cook room, and at noon they began to cook there which filled our apartments with smoke, which with the heat and flies we were sufficiently tormented. We made a complaint of it, and have a promise of it being removed to-day. Our boy brought in a few bottles of liquor, which was seized by Guard as they must have the Nabob's Purwannah for it to pass in. At night the Nabon's Consommah

came to inform us that he had his Master's order for whatever we choosed to have dressed, and we need only send to the Cook room for it. To-night we found it very disagreeable on account of heat, buggs, and a noisy Guard, who occupies the veranda of our apartment.

Wednesday, 20th.—Nothing extraordinary only a visit from Mirza Caleail who tells us he is going to Mongheer. To-night the Dewan ordered the Guard to sleep out; we might have the veranda to sleep in, which was a great piece of service to us, as we had a little air, and less noise.

Thursday, 21st.—Nothing remarkable.

Friday, 22nd.—Afternoon about 4 we were called on a sudden from our quarters, and leaving two soldiers we were led into the City, and on our way met two Europeans with a Guard who told us there were 15 of them come up from Mongheer, were led thro' several windings and byways to a place where all sorts of prisoners are confined, for after passing two compounds we came to a third, where we observed some prisoners in irons which gave us but an indifferent idea of the place, more especially as the appartments we were put in was quite close, damp, and hung with cob-webs, some matts wherein the fronts close to the door, which were secured and tyed down, so that what light and air we had was from the door. Here to all appearance, we had to expect but indifferent treatment. But we had not been here an hour before we began to be somewhat better reconciled to it, for all our things was sent to us very carefully. We found this a place for state prisoners, and several people of some consequence have been here, ever since Ramnarains misfortune; there are about 1,200 Pions as a guard to this Prison, who allow us to walk all the length of the Square, so that we find we are here more retired and have more liberty.

Saturday, 23rd.—We had a visit to-day from Ramnarains Cutwal, a man of good character and formerly of influence in the city. We had no victuals sent us so are obliged to furnish ourselves.

We heard to-day that on the 15th instant a body of our troops had an engagement at Cutway with the forces from Muxadawad and the latter entirely defeated, the two principal Jamadars being killed.

That Hugly we have taken and destroyed. Our Gentlemen at Cassim Buzar had sent off their effects and themselves got safe off. That the Nabob was preparing to go down.

Sunday, 24th.—To-day we were a good deal alarmed by some of our guard having a parcel of old iron which we imagined was intended for us, but it was only to move them to another place; all our servants were ordered to sleep out of our square except one.

Monday, 25th.—Our boys heard a rumour to-day in the Dutch Factory of Mr. Amyatt and his Brother-in-law being both killed in their passage down near Rahamull, having made resistance to a force ordered to stop him, but we can't give it credit. Finding the want of liquor our boys to-day smuggled a bottle which gave us a glass each after dinner and at bed time.

Tuesday, 26th.—To-day close and sultry, which make the flies very troublesome to us. Had a small recruit of two bottles of gin, which is two days allowance. The economy we have established is to drink twice a day. Dine at one, take a walk in the evening and sleep at ten, supper, we have none. The intervals are filled up with reading, gaming, and converse with our fellow prisoners.

Wednesday, 27th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 28th.—Our Jemedar informs us the Nabob has ordered us to send for our provisions to his cook room as usual. To-day we heard that Mr. Ellis's Munshi had got safe to Bannarass, also that the King and Souja Dowlah came down to Kiabad.

Friday, 29th.—On sending to-day for our victuals the consumah said he had not his master's orders, by which means we were disappointed of our dinner.

Saturday, 30th.—We sent our servants to the Nabob to request that we might be allowed to send to the Dutch for a little liquor daily as custom had rendered it necessary for our health, also that we might have a daily allowance in money rather than his victuals, as it was not dressed in our way, both of which he granted, allowing us 4 rupees per day and liberty to bring in two bottles of liquor p. day.

Sunday, 31st.—Heard a rumour of our troops being defeated at Plassy.

Monday, August the 1st.—Heard with pleasure the news of yesterday reversed, for from authority we have gained a second victory near the troops at Muxadawad, and Mr. Marcot with a large body of Seapoys, etc., now lies 8 coss on this side the city, so that we may soon hear of an action of consequence as our whole force are pretty near them. The Nabob lies encamped at Mongheer, near Hot Wells, but no appearance of his moving yet.

Tuesday, 2nd.—Have the news of yesterday confirmed. Great commotion at Mongheer, and Camdercawn with all the other Fousdars and Jemedars called in.

Wednesday, 3rd.—Gregar Cawn, with the remainder of the force is gone down, and his Excellency, with a few for a Body Guard, only remain.

Thursday and Friday, 4th and 5th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Saturday, 6th.—Mr. Roach's boy arrived from Mongheer, brings news of Mr. Amyatt's head being brought there some time ago, that Mr. Chambers and some of Cassim Bazar factory are there also; hear that we were thrice repulsed in the attack of the city of Muxadawad, but the fourth attack carried everything, that the old Nabob is declared. Dr. Nicola Musketa brings news of Marcot's being defeated; Sumers killed, with many elephants and Jemidars, that Marcott had gone over to us with a thousand men, but I can give no credit to it.

Sunday, 7th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 8th.—Mindy-ally Cawn came into our square and went soon out. He told us not to rise or disturb ourselves, but we heard soon after

that he wanted a place to put 20 Europeans that had just arrived from Mongheer. Heard at night that we had preserved Molidus and some of the Royal Family, who were prisoners at Dacca, and had settled in that country.

Tuesday, 9th.—Had a Chit from one Mr. Bennet, Co's Factor at Brampoor, and also one from Mr. Thompson, agent for Mr. M'Guire. They were taken prisoners below and sent up with about 20 soldiers, are in great distress wanting every necessary, we sent them 20 Rupees for the present. The Nabob of this place is preparing to set out for Mongheer in a few days. Harcarrahs are in constant motion here transporting families and effect of the merchants out of the city, troops from the smallest Fousdars are ordered to join at Mongheer, and a bridge building at Ruinulla. The Seats, too, are made close prisoners, and great commotion amongst the great at Mongheer. It is said our troops are marching up, and by latest advice were 15 coss from the lowest capital.

Wednesday, 10th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 11th.—Hear of an action below in which Marcott's army were entirely defeated, and several Jemadars gone over to Meer Jaffier, but this wants confirmation. Messrs. Bennet and Thompson were to-day brought to us by the Nabob himself. They gave us an account of Mr. Amyatt and Ensign Cooper being killed at Muxadawad, as follows:—"They had embarked all the party and sent the horses, etc., with the Seices by land, meeting with contrary winds it was ten days ere they reached Muxadawad, where they at once saw troops drawn up on each side the river, with some great guns, they hailed them and desired them to come too, but not taking any notice of them some of them fired, on which some of our Seapoys began to fire also, and killed somebody on the shore, on which great guns and volleys were fired, which obliged them to put to the opposite shore, where there was the least firing. Mr. Amyatt, notwithstanding the fire, landed with a pair of pistols, he took the Nabob's Perwannah in one hand and held it up to them, and a pistol in the other, and advanced to the top of the bank where he was shot in the leg, and soon after cut to pieces. Ensign Cooper met the same fate in making resistance, but the other gentlemen they can give no account of, but expect they were sent to Mongheer with Mr. Chambers and the others from Cassim Buzar, they also inform us Mr. Hay and Mr. Gulston have suffered greatly, being put in irons and brought up in one boat, and scarce victuals or necessarys to cover them, being in all 27 persons. The Nabob here allows 10 Rs. p. day to the 17 people left, and an addition of 2 Rs. p. day to us on account of these two gentlemen.

Friday, 12th.—Last night late we had a confirmation of the action below, but no particulars; heard that the Nabob's wives, etc., are gone from Mongheer in order to be in safety. Numbers here are sending their families over the river. Mindy Aly Cawn set out to-day with the 200 Moguls and some Seapoys to Mongheer. To-day two Padrees who had a few days ago gone from hence to Mongheer returned on account of the confusion on the roads. They report that the Nabob and all his troops are gone too

from hence, and it is believed he goes to make his last effort. They heard all the prisoners were embarked in the Boats, but this is only hearsay.

Saturday 13th.—By certain intelligence we have gained a complete victory over Marcott, taken 9 pieces of cannon, 3 Jemadars, 1,300 horse and 1,800 Seapoys and Europeans went over to us; 5 days ago Gregon Cawn got the Nabob to march down with the remainder of his force, but with great reluctance. All the prisoners are well at Mongheer; his Treasure there yet.

Sunday, 14th.—Hear that the Nabob marched five days ago with about 6,000 Men. Camdar Cawn has marched to join him with 1,000 horse, and 2,000 horse from Battea on their way for the same purpose.

Monday 15th.—Heard melancholy accounts of Ram Narian and Rajah Bullab being cut off, but as yet not confirmed, tho' both families here in great distress on that account.

Tuesday, 16th.—Still the above account prevails strong in this City, with this addition of the number being eleven in all, amongst whom are Ellis, Lushington, and 3 Harcarrahs, so it is imagined they have been concerned in an illegal correspondence.

Wednesday, 17th.—Mr. M'Kay's servants to-day arrived from Mongheer in 4 days, who says he left all our gentlemen well there, that Ramnarain, Rajah Bullab, and the Seats were said to be cut off there. Hear our troops are between the passes. His Excellency at Bogolpoore, and the bulk of his Army at the second pass. The Begum is said to be delivered of a child at Ruinullah, which retards her journey, she has many boats and elephants with 13,000 horse under command of Nobit Roy; it is said all his money from Mongheer is there.

Thursday, 18th.—About 500 Seapoys of ours who had taken service at Mongheer are discharged the service, and ordered out of the province lest they serve him as they did below.

Friday, 19th.—By a Servant arrived from Mongheer, Mr. Ellis, etc., are well, and Ramnarain and Rajah Bullab and his son were put in a boat and it's believed were drowned. It is reported that the Nabob has made proposals of peace, and offered three Crores of Rupees to make good all damages, but this wants confirmation.* His Excellency for certain has marched from Bagelpoore.

Saturday, 20th.—Heard by a Messenger from His Excellency's Camp, that 500 Europeans and 3 Battalions of Seapoys, our own Horse, and 5,000 Black...had marched from Muxadawad towards Berboom to pass in the hills while Meer Jaffier with his army, and 3 or 400 Europeans lately from Calcutta, with 1,600 Seapoys remain behind, both army have artillery in proportion. It is said the Nabob had made a present of 6 month's pay to all his troops, is in possession of the passes and ready for a run, not caring to leave Bagelpoore.

*A Corore of Rupees are a hundred Lack, or one Million Sterling.

Sunday, 21st.—To-day Nabit Roy arrived to see his family. The Begum being at Jaffier Cawn's Gardens; its said they proceed up the country to a place on the hills almost impregnable, near Muccracond.

Monday, 22nd.—Nothing extraordinary; only some Armenians confined here.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Nothing extraordinary.

Wednesday, 24th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 25th.—By advice from Mongheer hear his Excellency and the Armenian general are in great panick. Letters arrive here to the Begum twice a day, often in order to quicken her marches.

Friday, 26th.—The Begum set out on her march towards Rotasgur. She has 1,500 rutts, 3 camels, 100 elephants, a number of boats, besides elephants, coaches, 1,200 horse, and 2,000 burgondosses are for her escort, having all his treasure with her, and it's currently said, from some authority His Excellency will follow in 15 or 20 days.

Saturday, 27th.—Nothing extraordinary. Hear Jemedar from Buxier, with 4,000 horse and foot, passed this place in his way down.

Sunday, 28th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 29th.—Hear many Armenians and Portuguese are arrived here on account of the commotions below.

Tuesday, 30th.—It is said our troops are yet at Souty Nulla; that his Excellency has sent many Detachments down; that Gregan Cawn has no command, and a Jemadar, which lately made his escape from Soujah Dowlah's country where he was a prisoner, is appointed to the command in his stead; that his Excellency is still at Bauglepoor. These 3 days past we can't get our allowance on account of the confusion here.

Wednesday, 31st.—Yesterday had an account from the Padre that some troops had arrived and joined the army, that they had divided. Meer Jaffier with part of his troops lay at the pass near Suttu, that Fascine Battery, on the side of a lake, was raised by our troops under command of Major Carnac, while Major Adams of the 84th Regt. with Roydoulep was gone the Beerboom road. A party had secured the Purnea country and stopt provisions from crossing. It's confirmed that all the best Jemedars are gone down, that Gregan Cawn is degraded because he proposed a accommodation between his Excellency and his Father. The Begum still pursues her journey. We have a report that Dr. Fullarton has sent word to some of his black friends here that he will see them in a few days.

September 1st.—To-day hear an account of our gaining a omplete victory at Suttu Nullah, but not confirmed. This evening all the Armenian women set out to the westward.

Friday, 2nd.—Nothing extraordinary.

Saturday, 3rd.—Heard to-day by a messsenger from our camp at Suttu to a black Merchant that the Armys remained there in their old position,

that Major Adams had for certain gone the Beerbom road with a view to pass the hills, that yesterday on account of it orders had been sent here for them to keep a look out, upon which many prepared for going off. The Seats house herewith his Gamastahs were seized and three lack of Rupees. Nabit Roy with the Begum is arrived at Daudnagore, he has sent word to Ramnarain's family that he is not put to death but in a secure place in Mongheer and in irons with Rajbullab.

Sunday, 4th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 5th.—A report our having possess Malda.

Tuesday, 6th.—Heard to-day some ships being arrived at Calcutta with Seapoys and Europeans. Boo Ali Cawn in returned to Boglepoor and Mindie Aly Cawn got the command of the army below. Comdar Cawn is stopt in the hills and cant pass. Things are said to be in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's court, this by letter.

Wednesday, 7th.—By a Messenger from Muxadabad in nine days have the account of an action confirmed as follows. The enemy made an attack on our Fascine Battery at night, our people quitted it and having let about 4,000 men land, for they crossed the Nullah in boats, they immediately surrounded them and cut them off.

Thursday, 8th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Friday, 9th.—It is said the Nabob has retreated 4 coss, there is some rumour of some troops coming up the other side of the river.

Saturday, 10th.—We have from Nicolo some confused account of our storming the enemy's trenches in the nights, entirely driving them thence and taking all their camp and artillery. Somero and Marcott are missing, and the broken troops obliged to retreat. It is reported six Jemedars who went with Camdor Cawn are gone off. Things are in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's court.

Sunday, 11th.—We learned by a packet from Chinsurah that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay are ordered for Europe. Mr. Sumner who is coming out 2nd in council and Mr. M'Guire Buxie so that Mr. Vansittart's interest seems to prevail which may produce strange effects here. A messenger arrived from our camp which brings an account of the action which he says he had from the Nabob's Harcarrahs that Mindie Aly Cawn and another Jemedar were killed and all their guns and Camp equipage were taken, that a twenty-gun ship and three sloops were coming up, and had passed Nudea Santepoor.

Monday, 12th.—Hear six lack of Rupees have arrived here from the Begum to pay the troops here.

Tuesday, 13th.—Have a rumour of the troops being in possession of the first pass, and that Mindie Ali Cawn is certainly killed. That Mr. Vansittart is suspended by the Council. A boy from Mongheer brings an account of Mr. Jones having arrived there in a Dooly. Yesterday a Jemedar arrived at this place on some important business.

Wednesday, 14th.—It is said the Jemedars had been ordered here to put the place in a posture of defence, this place is quite full of the defeat of His Excellency's troops and the consequences of it. People are going off daily. He has retreated himself to Mongheer, and it is affirmed we have a strong party coming thro' the hills and that the passes are abandoned.

Thursday, 15th.—Heard that the Armenian General is a close prisoner and a Guard put over his effects hear, also that the Jemedar commanding at Mongheer had refused admittance to his Excellency, and that our troops would be at this place as soon as his.

Friday, 16th.—We have not had these nine days any allowance from the Nabob on account of the confusion here, the consequence of the late defeats of his Excellency's troops. Heard by a peon of Sir William Hope that Captain Turner died the night before he left Mongheer. To-day we divided what cash remained in our possession which comes to 3 Rupees each, and have sent the greatest part of effects of others which were with us to the Dutch Factory, this precaution we have taken lest we be to march up the country with his Excellency.

Saturday, 17th.—Received advices of our army for certain being at Shawbad, three coss above the upper pass, that His Excellency is destroying Mongheer, and they are here destroying our Factory house and fortifying this place.

Sunday, 18th.—His Excellency's people are going off in troops, Mersa Caliel and Mindie Ali Cawn are both arrived having fled from the late action. Our gentlemen are on the way from Mongheer to this place, and it is thought His Excellency intend pushing thro' the hill to Bengal in order to draw our troops down, prolong time, and gain some assistance which he may be in expectation of from above. To-day sent my superfluous clothes to the Dutch factory. We also received nine days allowance out of the 11 due us. Our peons here seem in great agitation, and in short the whole city seem ready to take wing. Hear His Excellency is 3 coss this side Mongheer and our troops 16 coss from them.

Monday, 19th.—To-day all our gentlemen except Mr. Fullarton arrived from Mongheer, it is said Lady Hope* and some other women are left behind, most of the gentlemen are in irons. Captain Turner died of a fever at Mongheer, our servant Dr. Nicola in attempting to get into the gentlemen was made a prisoner on account of his being dressed with a Cross, sword and target. No account of either our army or His Excellency's.

Tuesday, 20th and 21st.—Nothing extraordinary. Our servant Nicola is released by making application to the Darbar—Hear the Dutch chief has sent wine, etc., to Mr. Ellis.

Thursday, 22nd.—Nothing extraordinary.

Friday, 23rd.—As his Excellency still continues at Mongheer, it gives us reason to think our troops are not yet in possession of the upper pass.

*Wife of Sir William Hope of Balcomie.

Saturday, 24th.—Hear for certain that our troops are at Shawbad, that the enemy are repairing what of Mongheer they had destroyed. That everything was in the greatest confusion in His Excellency's camp. That Somers had the management of everything. His Excellency had not eat for three days nor allowed his Nagar to beat, that he being absent and Somero not at Mongheer, and his army advanced to Gulgat Nullah so that we may hourly expect some news.

Monday, 26th.—This evening heard that 10 Europeans at Bar had been tied and thrown in the river, so that from this we may guess what we are to expect. Have also an account that purwannahs have arrived here to several Jemedars, and that it is thought many are sent to the Jemedars of his Excellency's camp. Some think he will be laid hold of by his own people.

Tuesday, 27th.—This morning hear that Lady Hope has arrived at the Dutch Factory. A rumour prevails of his Excellency having been completely defeated a few days ago and lost every gun, etc. That he is on his way to Patna. The very peons here are in great agitation on that account.

Wednesday, 28th.—Heard from good authority that his Excellency is retreating and was two days ago at Suriagurr. Somero and the Armenians with a party at Mongheer and our army at Baglepoor. Also a party had crossed the river and were coming up the other side. Booalli Cawn with the Seats and several other prisoners were at Bar, many prisoners have been released. Among the rest Shake Hahomed was released from this place and put under the care of a friend of his in his Excellency's army, and goes out here to-morrow morning.

Thursday and Friday, 29th and 30th.—Hear that his Excellency is 2 coss this side Ruinulla, and Sumro with the Armenians at the Nullah that his people is going off daily, and he is in great fear of his life. That about three weeks ago he proposed cutting us all off, but was prevented by Sumro, the Armenians, and some of his Jemedars. That Mollidore with a good force will be at Hodgepoor in three days; that his Excellency intends striking off for the hills at Ramnasera, within a coss of this place. It is believed that his orders will not be obeyed here, as most of the city seem willing to protect us, Gragen Cawn had 15 horses which arrived here yesterday, but the gates were shut and they were not permitted to enter. As things now go on towards a [crisis our situation must create in as] much anxiety, it is said he will be at Ramnasera the day after to-morrow, so that our fates must be determined in two or three days at furthest.

Saturday, 1st October.—Mahmet Emy Cawn, with the Seats and some other prisoners, still remain without the east gate. 12 Europeans which came with them arrived in the City to-day.

Sunday, 2nd.—Heard that his Excellency would be at Bar to-day, and our troops at Ruinullah; that Gragen Cawn is killed or badly wounded by his Moguls in a dispute about pay. 10 Europeans arrived here to-day.

Monday, 3rd.—Hear the Seats and Mahmet Emy Cawn are safe lodged in the City, and that this Jemedar sent his Chubdar to Mr. Ellis yesterday

telling him not to be uneasy, and if he wanted money he would let him have it. Many of our guards have left us. Rice has rose within these few days to six seers for a Rupee. Heard this night that his Excellency is at Besconpoor, and will pass this place to-morrow; are told not be uneasy for we should be safe.

Tuesday, 4th.—To-day his Excellency arrived at Ramnarain's Gardens, and to-morrow comes into the City. They have been very busy to-day mounting guns on the bastions of this place. Heard that Meer Jaffi's brother had made his escape.

Wednesday, 5th.—Hear the Seats were cut off near Bar.

Thursday, 6th.—Heard this morning that Mr. Ellis and 47 gentlemen were cut off last night, so that doubtles our fate must be in 24 hours, for which God prepare us all.

" Patna,
" 6th October, 1763.

" Dear Davidson,—

" Since my last his Excellency has been completely defeated, and in consequence obliged to retreat. He came to Jaffier's Cawn's Gardens yesterday, and purposes coming into the city to-day. Somero with the Seapoys arrived here last night and I suppose to effect his wicked designs, for last night Mr. Ellis and 48 gentlemen were murdered, and as about an equal number remains of soldiers and us, I expect my fate this night. Dear Davidson, this is no surprise to me for I have all long expected it. I must therefore, as a dying man, request of you to collect and remit home my fortune as soon as possible, and write home a comforting letter to my Father and Mother, let them know I die bravely as a Christian ought, for I fear not he who can kill the body and nothing more, but rejoice in hopes of a future existence thro' the merits of my Saviour. O, Davidson, be not over anxious for a fortune, let mediocrity satisfy you, and go home and comfort your friends and mine; endeavour to recover Mr. Ellis's money if possible, but I believe the 14,000 Rupies with Hancock is safe, which will be a help for my poor friends. You have full instructions in my other papers; you may give Nicola if he comes to you 200 Rs., and if you can, provide for him, for he is a good boy.

" Now, dear friend, I take my leave of you hoping that; that friendship will still subsist, for why may there not be same friendship in a future state, friendship founded on virtue must subsist for ever. Fare you well, and may God give you satisfaction in life and joy in death.

" Yours,
"(Signed) William Anderson."

On the 9th or 11th, Dr. Anderson & Dr. Campbell and Capt. Wilson and Lieuts. Armstrong and Mackey were killed by Somroo's Sepoys, also 200 soldiers. In the beginning of these notices regarding the family of Hope, we came to Sir William Hope, grandson of the first Sir William Hope

of Balcomie. He began life in the Navy, and then entered the Army, 31st Foot, and then Captain in the East India Company's Service. In 1763 he was with the Army at Patna and was with Mr. Ellis, and one of the 48 gentlemen whom Dr. Anderson records were "cut off last night."

On hearing that the English had taken Monghir, the Nabob told Somers to make an end of the English prisoners, and this was how he did it. He invited them to sup with him, and he asked them to lend him their knives and forks in order he might entertain them in the English fashion. As they arrived "to sup," Somers stood at some distance in the cook-room to give his orders. As soon as Mr. Ellis and Mr. Lushington entered, the former was seized by the hair, and one forcing back his head, another cut his throat, on which Mr. Lushington knocked him down with his fist, seized his sword and killed one and wounded two more, before he was cut down himself. The others thus suddenly attacked and wholly unarmed, made long and brave defence—with only bottles and plates they killed many of their assailants, but in the end they were all slaughtered. One of the number, Captain Jucker had gone into a side place on arrival, and thus escaped for two days, but was then seized and killed. During the resistance, Somers bid the Sepoys go on the roof and fire on them from there, the Sepoys objected, begging the English might be given arms to defend themselves, and then they would fight and slay them, but for answer, those demurring to butcher were by his orders themselves knocked down with bamboos.

Thus fell the last man of the Hopes of Balcomie, his back to the wall, fighting at fearful odds, no weapon but a broken bottle or a piece of a china plate, against cutlasses and swords, brave to the end. "One more gone for England's Glory."

His wife (Lady Hope), who was a Dutch lady, had taken refuge with Dr. Fullarton and one soldier in the Dutch Factory. She afterwards married Mr. Lambert, and she died in 1766, when Balcomie was sold.

COPY OF NARRATIVE RECEIVED BY THE COUNCIL FROM DR. FULLARTON.

From the 17th of the month of June, preparations of War were carried on with great vigor on both sides. Mindi Aly Cawn, who governed the city, was employed in repairing the ramparts, cleaning the ditch and posting troops on the walls, and doubling all the guards to the westward of the city. The Factory Walls were likewise repaired, the Ditch was Cleaned and two 24 pounders were mounted, the Terras top of the Factory house was all round Fortified with Sand bags, and two three pounders were mounted there.

About ten o'clock at night of the 24th June, Mr. Ellis sent for me from the Hospital, and ordered that the sick might be embarked in boats, and carried over to the Sand Opposite to the City, and from thence tracked up and crossed over to the Factory. My orders were to embark exactly at

two o'clock in the morning (that being the hour appointed for the attack of the City), which was accordingly executed, and with the sick which consisted of 23 Europeans, got safe to the Factory, about Nine O'clock in the morning; at half an hour before one, the troops under the command of Capt. Carstairs marched from the Cantonments in two divisions, and Capt. Carstairs having sent 50 Seapoys (25 to each of the grand Roads); at 11 the night of the 24th June, to take every body that might pass that way, till the arrival of the troops, they took fifty prisoners, great many of whom were Harcarras, by which means they had not the least intelligence in the City. The first Division commanded by Capt. Carstairs consisting of 150 Europeans, Capt. Tabby's battalion of Seapoys and five Company of Capt. Wilson's. The Second Division consisted of 50 Europeans, Capt. Turner's battalion of Seapoys and two guns. The first Division with the Scaling Ladders came down the great Western Road, the Second came through the Town right to the west Gate, and there remained under Cover, the first division planted their Ladders near the South West Bastion of the City, they mounted and got in with little opposition and little Loss, they marched down along the walls to the west gate which they opened (our guns & small arms keeping a constant fire from the Factory upon the City till the Second Division and Guns came in); Lieut. Downie who commanded in the Factory with 3 Companys of Seapoys, a little after our troops had got the possession of the west gate, stormed the Berbunna Gate. Got in with little loss, and marched to the Killa, partly by the River side, partly by lanes near the river, Capt. Tabby with his Battalion went round the walls and drove the Enemy from them, posting his own Guards, as he went and came to the East Gate; by the time both our Division had got into the City, Mirza Mindi Aly Cawn, the Governor, had intelligence of it and had collected a Body of Horse and Gunmen—and marching down the main Street he met Capt. Carstairs with Capt. Turner's Seapoys, Europeans, and Guns, he lined the Street and filled the Lanes and the Tops of the Houses of both sides, and a warm scuffle ensued with loss on both sides, Capt. Perry and Lieut. M'Dowell were both killed, Captain Jacker and Wilson were wounded and 30 Europeans killed and wounded with a number of Seapoys, but our Grape and Musketry was so warm that they retired, and Mindi Aly Cawn with the rest of the commanders went out at the East Gate of the City, and took the road towards Futna; our troops marched to the East Gate after them and there met Capt. Tabby who had just arrived having come round the Walls, the East Gate was immediately shutt, the Bridge leading into it broke down, the Seapoys sent along the Killa Walls down to the River side, and took possession of the only Gate remaining in the hands of the enemy called the Water Gate. After this several messages passed between Capt. Carstairs and Mr. Ellis and everything seemed to be over. About 9 o'clock Capt. Carstairs came to the Factory with several of the Officers, at 10 we heard firing in the Killa, and the Gentlemen went to the Fort, the firing continued and increased. One, Lollsa, a Foot Jeminautdaar*, who had his women in

*Jeminautdaar, an officer of the same rank with the Roman Centurion.

a house in the Killa, did not chuse to leave them, so retired into his house with 30 men, and there remain quiet till some of our Seapoys began to plunder his house, he then in defence of his women drove them out; there were likewise about 200 men who had secreted themselves in a large house near the Killa called Chelsetown; Lollsa after having driven the Seapoys from his House, fired on the Centries that were posted on the walls of the Killa bear his house and sent a Message to Mindi Aly Cawn, who with the rest of the principal commanders had got the length of Fatna Bridge, that if he could return he would be able with his assistance to drive the English out of the City. Mindi Aly Cawn met an Futna with Alum Cawn 100 horse and 20 camels loaded with fire arrows sent from Mongheer for his garrison just at the time of his receiving Lollsa's message; he immediately returned, and by the way picked up about one thousand horse and foot that were flying from the City at the same time that Lollsa sent to Mindi Aly Cawn; he sent likewise to the Chelsetoon and told those men that were there that he had still defended part of the Killa, and desired their assistance. About 50 of them came to him by a small passage from the Chelsetoon to the Killa, and there they defended themselves till bear 12 o'clock, when Mindi Aly Cawn arrived. About this time our Seapoys were employed in plundering the town, & little order or obedience to their Officers was observed, nor could a sufficient body of them be got together to make a stand, so that Mindi Aly Cawn met with little resistance in driving all our troops out of the City. As our people went along they met with enemy everywhere, the Seapoys who had concealed themselves in the different houses upon hearing of the Naib's return sallied out everywhere and fired on them, so that about 3 o'clock they arrived at the Factory in the utmost confusion, having lost in the retreat Lieut. Reid of the Artillery, Lieut. Downie of the Seapoys killed, and Lieut. Parry wounded. Several attempts were made by the officers to rally both the Seapoys and Europeans, but to no purpose; it was generally imagined that great part of the Seapoys were gone off with what plunder they had got, and that night at a muster there were only about 170 Europeans and 1,200 Seapoys to be found, the confusion of such a number of troops with the sick and wounded in so small a place as the Factory must be easily imagined, and that evening about sunset the City was strongly reinforced by Marcott with 1,500 Seapoys and 2 guns and some horse, who that night began to ply us with musketry from the walls, and cannonading the Factory from the West Gate. Messrs. Greentree and Pickering were called from the Cantonments, where they had been left with two hundred new Seapoys.

The 26th.—In the morning the fire from the City increased, and the confusion with us was greater; early in the morning Mr. Ellis sent for me and ordered me to go over to the Sand opposite to the Factory with 50 Seapoys, and collect all the boats I could get. The fire was very warm, both from the Factory and the City all that day. About 12 o'clock I was ordered by Mr. Ellis to proceed with what boats I had collected to Palyeah Gott, about 3 coss upon the river and there to remain for further orders. At three

in the afternoon I was ordered to get the boats ready for transporting the troops over into the Sarcarsaring Country as soon as possible. At 10 o'clock at night they arrived in number about 170 Europeans and 1,200 Seapoys set fire to the Gunje, and all the large betelnut Bungloes near the Factory, to hinder the enemy's approach, and an officer with 30 Europeans remained in the Factory half an hour after the main body marched off, to bring up the rear with the baggage, but the fire from the City was so warm that the Cooleys and Lascars threw most part of the ammunition down and deserted, so that only seven barrels of Musquet ammunition were saved, and the Seapoys and Europeans had only 12 rounds a man. About daylight in the morning the troops got all to the other side of the river, and were obliged to halt there, for Mr. Lushington, who had embarked from the Factory with the Company's Treasure in small Pulwars, he arrived at 10 o'clock with only the loss of one boat, which was sunk by the enemy's shott at the Factory Gott.

The 27th.—A little before sunset we marched from Paluja to Ryputtee, being four coss, where the army got no provisions, but a little rice, the country people being afraid to supply us on account of the Fousdar Nideram's being in arms to oppose us. Mr. Ellis ordered me to take charge of the Treasure, with all the boats, and allotted for their Guard one company of Seapoys. The boats had a fine wind and sailed all night.

The 28th.—The boats were fired at from the Budgepoore side of the Country by Sumroo, who was there preparing to cross the river to attack us; no news of the troops till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at Chiran when the boats lay for them, they had rested the night of the 27th at Ryputtee, being 4 coss from Paluja, and from Ryputtee to Chiram was 5 coss.

The 29th.—The Army proceeded to Agaib Gunje, they were discontented for want of provisions the day before, this being a village of the Company's they got some rice; the boats were this morning, before the troops marched, reinforced by Lieut. Armstrong with another Company of Seapoys. We had news that Nideram was coming to fight with us with 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot.

The 30th.—We marched from Agaib Gunje to Maripore, 5 coss. The boats came up within a coss of the Camp, into the Dewa River, but it was with great difficulty, we being obliged to track. Nideram came, and was defeated with no loss on our side, but about 200 of his men killed. This day a boat that fell in the rear was taken, a Havildar and 8 Seapoys were in it, three of them were killed, the rest joined but without their arms. Nideram went towards Chuprah a few coss, where he, met Sumro with 3 battalion of Seapoys and eight pieces of cannon and a large body of horse, sent from Patna after us. Sumro made Nideram return, but we had no intelligence of them. Our Harcarrahs had all deserted, and none of the country people would come near us.

July 1st.—The army came to the banks of the Dewa, a coss from where they lay at Maripoor, the Dewa formed 3 streams at this place, our boats got into the middle one and could not pass thro' for want of water; they were half a mile from the army, and were ordered down to the place where the three streams met. The army likewise moved this morning, and in marching off the party of 100 Seapoys lost their way, and had a warm scuffle with part of Shimroo's Guards, only the Subadar and 35 Seapoys, with the colours, got to us. About 8 o'clock, we surrounded by Shimroo with 3 battalions of Seapoys, 8 pieces of cannon, and body of about 10,000 horse and foot, Nideram included. Two of Shimroo's battalions had Europe arms and one Country Matchlocks; and on their approach orders were sent for the 200 Seapoys that had been left to guard the boats to join us; we got the Howitz landed and prepared to receive them. They came within 800 yards and began to cannonade us; there was a Nullah about 50 yards in our front, but little water in it, & a small bank in the front of our line, behind which we were drawn up. The enemy did not seem much inclineable to attack us, but kept a brisk fire from their artillery and Gengalls. About 10 o'clock it was determined that we should attack them, and Mr. Ellis being much fatigued, and somewhat out of order, came down to the boats and ordered some liquor to be sent up to the men. A little after this Capt. Carstairs was mortally wounded with a Gengall ball, and the command devolved on Capt. Tabby. Our people were not allowed to fire on account of the great scarcity of ammunition, and the enemy began to come nearer and nearer, but very slowly. At 3 in the afternoon a company of their Seapoys came down to the banks of the Nullah and lay behind them, and kept a warm fire of musketry on us. They all after this moved down by degrees, and used to stop the cannon and fire, and then move again. Our Troops were much fatigued for want of Provisions, etc., and being exposed to a warm fire all day. About half an hour after sunset the firing increased, and they began to ply us with musketry; crossed the Nulla, and attacking us on all sides. About eight at night the Europeans broke and fled, the Seapoys stood their ground keeping a warm fire upon the enemy till all their ammunition was expended, when they likewise gave way. Lieut. Pickering and Croffts, both of the Seapoys, were killed; and the rest of the gentlemen that were in the field were taken either that night or next morning. The boats, where Mr. Ellis was, finding the fire cease, and some of the officers that could swim crossed the branch of the River (for the boats lay on an island) opposite to where the action was, pushed off and got into the river. Messrs. Ellis and Howitt and Smith, with Capt. Jacker, thought proper to write to Nideram to send some of his people to conduct them to Patna, to Mindi Aly Cawn, and it was likewise determined that Mr. Ellis should write to Mindi Aly Cawn, desiring that he should send orders for conducting him and the gentlemen safe there. About 10 at night I was sent with a letter to Mindy Aly Cawn. About 12 next morning, the 2nd July, I sent immediately to the Naib to let him know that I was come; he sent for me, and used me very well, sending an order to Nideram to conduct the Gentlemen safe to him, but before that could

arrive they were all taken by Shimroo that morning. About 10 I was kept a close prisoner in the Killa, and at night the Naib. came and desired me to write a Chitt to some Gentlemen that were come in a Budgerow to Hagipoore, to come to him, as they might be ill used by the country people, which I did. They came two days after, and were sent immediately to Mongheer, but were sent back again and kept in the Chelsetoon. They had buried Captain Carstairs, who died of his wound, in his Budgerow. These gentlemen were Capt. Wilson, Lieut. Armstrong, Ensign Makay, Mr. Anderson, Surgeon, and Mr. Peter Campbell and two soldiers.

July 6th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were brought to Patna. I petitioned the Naib to be sent to them, or be suffered to see them, both which were refused.

8th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were sent to Mongheer, and there confined; there was 45,000 Rs. of the Company's cash on board the Budgerow, where Mr. Ellis was taken, and some plate which was given to him, but in the care of some of the Nabob's people, to be given him when he wanted it. Some time it remained with Coja Petruss, afterwards with Mindialy Cawn.

The 16th I was sent down to Mongheer and there confined, separately from the rest of the gentlemen, who, as I afterwards understood, were all well used, tho' strictly confined. We had victuals sent us by the Nabob regularly twice a day.

August 10th.—The Nabob left Mongheer and the Fort was left in charge of Mamodom Cawn; he treated us with the greatest lenity to appearances, and pretended to carry on a treaty with Mr. Ellis, but it was all a sham, for he never was in earnest; I was allowed to see the gentlemen on account of Capt. Turner's being ill, who afterwards died of a flux.

The 10th Sept.—Mr. Ellis and the rest of the gentlemen were sent from Mongheer. Messrs. Ellis & Greentree were on Pallankeens, Lushington, Smith, Lieut. Brown, Ensign M'Leod and one other gentleman who I don't remember were on Horseback, the rest were in Irons, some in Dolleys, and some in Harcarrys, and after their arrival at Patna were confined in Hajee Ahmend's house.

Sept. 19th.—I was sent from Mongheer to Patna, and confined alone in the Killa.

Oct. the 5th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were inhumanly butchered by Shimroo, who came that evening to the place with 2 companys of Seapoys (he had the day before sent for all the knives and forks from the gentlemen), he surrounded the house with his people and went into a little outer square, and sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, and with them came six other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled, and cut to pieces, and their bodys thrown into a well in the square and it filled up, then the Seapoys were sent into a large square and fired on the gentlemen there, and rushing upon them cut them into pieces in the most inhuman manner and they were thrown into another large well which was likewise filled up.

The 7th.—The Nabob sent for me and told me to get myself in readiness to go to Calcutta, for that as he had been unlucky in the War, which he asserted with great warmth had not been of his seeking, nor had he been the Aggressor, reproaching the English with want of fidelity and breach of Treaty, but he said he had still hopes of an accommodation. He asked me what I thought of it. When some of his people then present mentioned the affair of Mr. Amyatt's death, he declared he had never given any order of killing Mr. Amyatt, but after receiving advice of Mr. Ellis having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces wherever they could find them; he likewise added that if a treaty was not set afoot he would bring the King, the Marattoes, and Abdullo, against us, and so ruin our trade, etc. He had finished his letters, and ordered boats and Guards to conduct me, when upon the advice of some of his people he stopped me, and said there was no occasion for me to go; after his sending for me, at first he ordered the Scapoys (in whose charge I was) to go to their quarters, and two Moguls and twelve Harcarras to attend me, but to let me go about the City where I pleased. I then applied for to have Liberty to stay at the Dutch Factory which was granted, I applied to Minda Aly Cawn for his interest in behalf of the gentlemen in the Chelsetoon who were seven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of Octr., but when he was petitioned about them he gave no answer, but still sent orders to Simroo to cut them off; I likewise applied to Ali Ibrahim Cawn to intercede for them, but he gave him no answer either, tho' I was present when Ibrahim Cawn petitioned for them.

The 14th.—On the approach of our army, Cossim Ally decamped with his troops in great confusion and marched as far as Fulwary, 3 cosse to the westward of the city. The Harcarrahs that were with me having no orders about me, I gave them some money which made them pretty easy.

The 23rd.—After giving money to a Jamatdar, that had the Guards to the Westward of the Dutch Factory, by the River side, I set out in a small Pulwar, and got safe to the boats under command of Captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the City, on the other side of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the Army, under the command of Major Adams lying at Jutly.

EVAN COTTON.

The Indian Historical Records Commission

EIGHTH SESSION AT LAHORE

IN my previous articles the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* have been furnished with an account of the origin and scope of the Indian Historical Records Commission and its activities during the first seven years of its existence. In the present article I propose to give a brief account of the eighth session of the Commission which was held at Lahore on the 23rd November 1925. His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey opened the proceedings of the Commission. After welcoming the members of the Commission he assured them that since Sir Edward Maclagan addressed the Commission on its first visit to the city of Lahore in 1920 the Punjab Government had spared no pains for the better preservation, classification and publication of their records. His Excellency then briefly dwelt on the nature and extend of the Punjab records. The earliest vernacular records of any importance were those known as the Dinanath papers, relating to the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; while the oldest British records dated from 1808 to 1849 and consisted of manuscript volumes of the Delhi, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies. These had all been stored and preserved in a fitting setting in the romantic surroundings of the tomb of Anarkali. Sir Malcolm next referred to the valuable work of cataloguing and listing the historical documents of the Punjab carried out by Major Garrett, their Record Keeper, and commended to the Punjab research student the fascinating field of investigation offered by the study of the old official records. In the absence of Mr. R. B. Ewbank, the ex-officio President of the Commission, Sir Evan Cotton thanked His Excellency on behalf of the members. He said that this was the fourth session of the Commission and very likely the last over which he had the honour to preside and gave an indication of the manner in which the Commission has discharged its duties during the time he had been connected with it. He referred to the progress that was being made all over India with regard to the cataloguing and the classification of the various historical records, and the interest which has been roused among the Feudatory Chiefs in the matter of examining their own state records which were very often of the utmost historical value. He expressed sincere satisfaction at the admirable way in which this work was being done at Lahore, which he considered to be one of the model centres of historical research in India.

After His Excellency retired Sir Evan Cotton was voted to the chair. The first item on the agenda was the passing of a vote of condolence, expressing regret at the demise of Her Late Majesty Queen Alexandra, proposed from the chair, and carried unanimously, the audience standing in solemn

silence. A number of interesting papers were then read the more important of which are noticed below.

Sir Evan Cotton's contribution took the form of an authoritative monograph on "The Journals of Archibald Swinton" which appeared in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*. The events related to the period 1752 to 1766 when Swinton was in India. He wrote of his experience under Clive, the capture of Arcot, the expedition to the Point Negrais in Aracan, the Northern Sircars, Sylhet and Cachar, and the capture of Patna. As Persian Secretary to Carnac he was one of the signatories to the treaty of Allahabad.

Mr. A. C. Woolner, Principal of the Oriental College and Dean of the Punjab University Instruction, in his paper gave an interesting account of the two collection of manuscripts which had been formed during the last ten years or so, in the Punjab University Library and in the Lal Chand Library of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. These manuscripts, he said, had been collected from many places and at considerable expense. Among these the most unique were the palm leaf commentary on the Rigveda by Udgithacharya, Maheswar's commentary on the Niruptam, and Harit's commentary on Valmiki's Ramayan.

Major H. L. O. Garrett in his paper on the Punjab Record Office gave an interesting account of the records stored at Anarkali's Tomb. The Sikh records, generally known as the Dinanath records, were under examination, and were likely to throw a flood of light on Ranjit Singh's administration.

Professor Muhammad Shafi gave a lucid description of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts which were on view in the Historical Exhibition held in connectinn with the meeting of the Commission. The oldest and most interesting in the collection of manuscripts was a volume of the Qanun of Bu Ali Sina dated A. H. 669. Some of the manuscripts of the 9th and 10th centuries belonged to some of the famous Indian Libraries of the Mughal period. The Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Kulliyat of Muhammad Quli Salim being autograph copies possessed unique interest. Some of the manuscripts bore remarks in the handwriting of famous men like Abd al Rahim Khan Khanan, Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah and others.

Mr. H. C. Rawlinson of Poona gave a brief account of the life of John Ovington, the author of the valuable and entertaining book "Voyage to Suratt 1689", which is one of the best travel-books of the 17th century.

Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, of the Hooghly College, in a very interesting paper traced the origin of the institution of "The Munsiffs" under the East India Company. The real author of this well-known and valuable branch of the judicial administration appears to have been Mr. Edward Otto Ives, the Superintendent of the Murshidabad Diwani Adalat. He found that the disputes which the Superintendent alone could decide were nothing in proportion to the number of causes instituted, and considered that some system of decentralisation in the interests of justice and efficiency were speedily needed. He accordingly submitted a plan to the Chief and Council

at Murshidabad, who obtained the Board's sanction to the project. Responsible persons under the title of 'Munsiffs' were appointed to hear petty cases. They were to sit six days a week in places near the cutcherry and had to execute *muchalkas* that they would receive no bribe or present on any pretence whatsoever.

Professor Samaddar has for sometime past been collecting materials for a history of the Bargi invasion of Bengal. He has already published in the columns of *Bengal: Past and Present* a translation of the Maharastra Puran a contemporary record in Bengali which throws a flood of light on the subject. In his paper he tells us of another Bengali record relating to the Marhatta incursion which has been discovered by him recently. It is a song or properly speaking a ballad—গাথা—sung in Bishnupore in the district of Bankura known as (মদনমোহনের বন্দনা) Madan Mohaner Vandana (Adoration of the god Madan Mohan). It was evidently composed after the first incursion of the Marhattas under General Bhaskar Pandit in 1742. Much of the ballad is of a legendary character. The Hindu god Madan Mohan is said to have taken up the defence of the fort of Bishnupore against an attack of the Bargis. This is a fanciful method of historical narration common in the East, but the fact remains that the Bargis met here with a check and the Mahratta forces were unable to pierce through the strong fortifications.

Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara whose lamented death has removed a great personality from the field of historical research in India contributed a paper on the "Maharatta Ambassadors at the Court of Delhi and their correspondence". In this paper he gave a brief account of one of the historic families of the Deccan, the Hingnes, who represented the Peshwas at the Court of Delhi from 1734 to 1800 A.D. The complete correspondence between the Hingne brothers and the Peshwa from 1780 to 1795 A.D. which has become available fully reflects the fallen state of the Court at Delhi at a period when there was a keen competition between the Marathas, the English and the Rohillas for the establishment of supremacy at Delhi.

Khan Sahib Moulvi Zafar Hasan read a paper on a "Farman of Maryam Zamani Begum" the mother of the Emperor Jahangir which disproved the story that she was the Portuguese wife of Akbar. This Farman was recently offered to the Khan Sahib for sale. Unfortunately it is not in a good state of preservation and is only partly readable, indicating that it was issued by Maryam Zamani in favour of one Mudabbir Beg to restore his Jagir which was usurped by one Suraj Mal at the Pargana Chaupala (the modern Moradabad) in the *sarkar* of Sambhal.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth's paper gave an interesting account of the Armenians in the days of the East India Company. The Armenians were the pioneers of the foreign trade in India, and the English merchants on their arrival found them well established in the country. They were carrying on an extensive trade with Asia Minor and Europe through the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. They were greatly favoured by the Mughals and the

efforts of the Dutch to strangle the Armenian trade by violence at the mouth of the two gulfs failed ignominiously. The illustrious Armenian leader Khoja Phanoos Kalandar was prevailed upon to enter into a treaty with the company of "London Merchants trading to the East Indies" by which the Armenians agreed to divert their extensive trade with Europe from the old channel to the new route round the Cape exclusively through British shipping. The treaty which was concluded on the 20th of June 1688 proved—as the future events showed—the death knell of the Armenian trade in India.

Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, at Pondicherry, gave in his paper a brief life sketch of the famous Venetian diplomat Nicolas Manuchy who visited India during the reign of Shah Jahan in 1686 as also a copy of his last Will and Testament. Manuchy's profession as a doctor helped him in retaining his position at the Great Mughal's court for forty years. His services were also utilised by the Madras and Pondicherry Governments for sending him as an ambassador to the Courts of the Native princes. He published several important historical works in Portuguese.

The paper of Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., brought to light for the first time some of the transactions of the Sultan of Bijapur with the Portuguese Governor, Dom Braz de Castro. He based his paper on letters and documents of the Portuguese Government Archives at Panjim among which are preserved four original letters in Persian of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur.

Professor C. S. Srinivasachari gave an account of the encouragement afforded by the Government for the promotion of Dravidian linguistic studies in the days of John Company. He mentioned in particular the scholarship and linguistic attainments of the early Jesuit missionaries at Madura and the activities of the Serampore mission.

Mr. L. M. Crump, I.C.S., pieced together the story of "Rupmati of Mandu". It was the discovery in Bhopal of a fragment of Ahmad ul Umari's Persian manuscript describing the romance of Rupmati that led to a keen search for the remaining leaves and some of the pictures. The result has been most gratifying. All the fragments scattered about in different parts of India have been recovered. Put together, the manuscript is complete, and gives a glowing account of Rupmati, her consuming love for Baz Bahadur and her tragic death when she chose to drink the cup of poison rather than yield to the advances of Baz Bahadur's conqueror Adham Khan Koka, the general sent by Akbar in 1561 to conquer Malwa. Mandu now a ruined city was the ancient capital of the kingdom of Malwa. Rupmati's origin is lost in obscurity. She was a Brahman lady, and, according to the manuscripts, she died at Mandu.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan of the Allahabad University in his rather lengthy paper gave useful information regarding the various libraries and offices in which manuscripts pertaining to the History of British India of the 17th century are available.

Mr. J. C. Sinha gave an account of the Earliest Currency Committee established in India in 1787.

My paper on " Notes on the Life and Times of Ranjit Singh " based on records in the Imperial Record Department has already been published in this journal.

The Exhibition which was organised in connection with the Lahore session of the Commission was informally opened by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab in the presence of a representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen including Lady Cotton, Mrs. Ramsbotham, Sir Mahomed Shafi and Sir Fazl Hosain. The Exhibits included a number of historical records, interesting manuscripts, Arabic, Persian and Urdu, seals, sanads, coins and paintings. The exhibits of the Imperial Record Department attracted much attention. A panorama of the city of Lahore painted in water colour in 1844, and an old Persian map of the Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Kandahar exhibited by the Imperial Library of Calcutta proved of great interest to the Lahore public. To Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., and Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., of the Punjab Government College, belong the credit of collecting a number of very interesting exhibits from Kapurthala, Jhang, the Punjab University and the D. A. V. College Libraries.

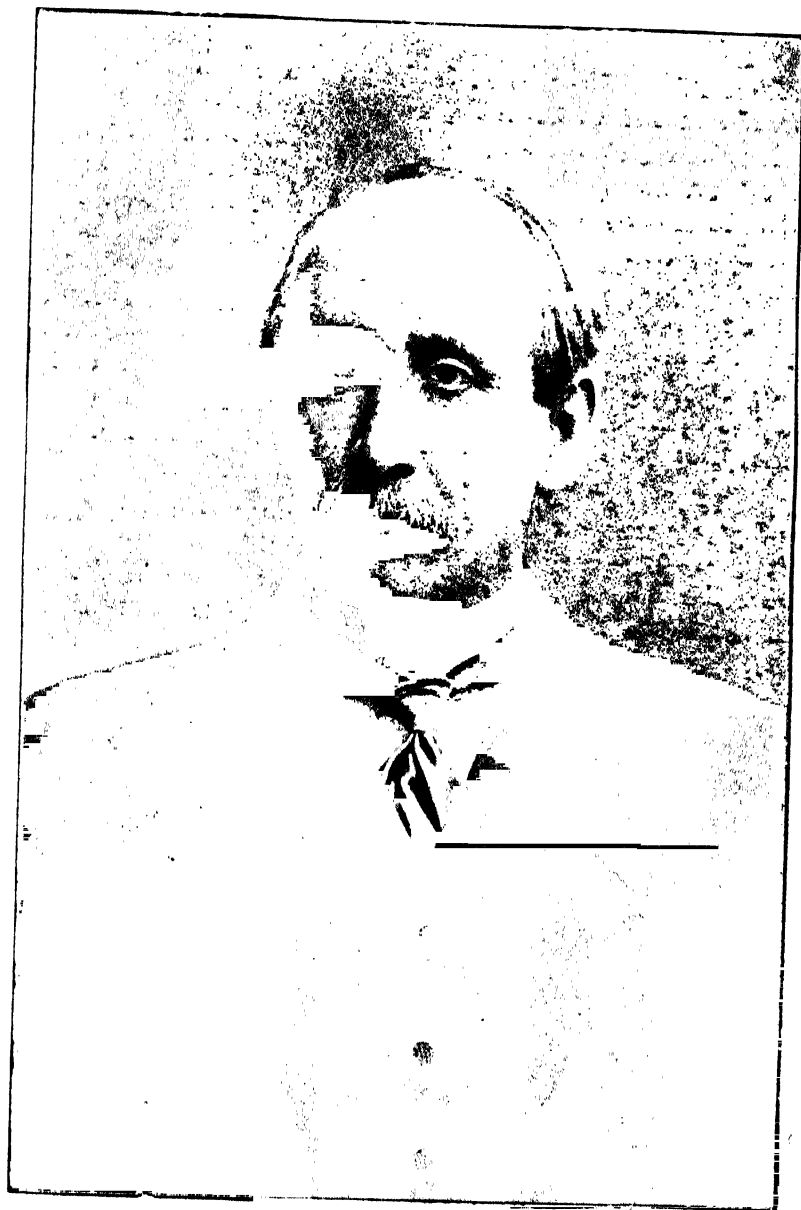
The members' meeting was held at the Punjab Record Office on the 24th November 1925 at 11 a.m. and in the afternoon the members of the Commission visited various places of historic interest at Lahore.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Late Mr. Samuel Charles Hill.

EVERYONE who appreciates sound and lasting work in the domain of Indian history will have heard with regret the news that Mr. S. Charles Hill died suddenly at Torquay on 6 May last; while to those who have worked with or under him must have come an additional pang at the thought of never again seeing those eyes twinkling with quiet humour or of listening to the information or advice that was always at the service of his friends. Hill never paraded his knowledge; but no one was more ready to give assistance when asked. His acquaintance with the subjects that interested him was profound, and those engaged in cognate researches were always glad to avail themselves of his retentive memory and submit their conclusions to his acute, though ever friendly, criticism. To beginners in research work he was especially kind; and during the many months during which he worked in the India Office Reading Office numerous students appealed to him for guidance, and never in vain.

He came of a family of which two successive generations had already rendered excellent service to India. The obituary notice which appeared in the *Times* of 24 May recalls that his grandfather, the Rev. Micaiah Hill, went out of Calcutta in 1822 as an agent for the London Missionary Society, edited the *Asiatic Observer*, and in 1824 founded the mission station at Berhampore. There he laboured until 1856, when his son, the Rev. Samuel John Hill, took his place and continued the work until his death in 1891. At the outbreak of the Mutiny the family were obliged to seek refuge at Fort William, but before this incident the second son, Samuel Charles, was born at Berhampore on 16 July, 1857. He was educated at the Blackheath School for the Sons of Missionaries, at University College School, and at University College, London, where he graduated B.A. and B.Sc. Joining the Bengal Educational Service, he went the usual round of appointments as professor and principal of various colleges and inspector of schools; and then in March, 1899 he was selected to act as Officer in Charge of the Imperial Record Department and Imperial Library at Calcutta—a post in which he was confirmed, after the definite retirement of Sir George Forrest, in November of the following year. His work in this capacity is too well known in Calcutta to need more than a passing mention; but we must record that during this period he rapidly produced a number of valuable publications, viz., a biography of Claud Martin (1901), an abstract of the Foreign Department Records, 1756-62 (1901), a list of the Europeans in Bengal at the time of the Black Hole (1902), *Three Frenchmen in Bengal* (1903), and above all his monumental *Bengal in 1756-57* (1905). In July, 1904 an offer of the post of Director of Public Instruction for the Central Provinces drew him from Calcutta to Nagpur, and in that capacity he spent the remainder of his Indian service.



The Late MR. SAMUEL CHARLES HILL
From a photograph in the Imperial Record Department,
Calcutta

Retiring in July, 1912, Hill settled in London, and devoted himself to research work. In the following year he contributed to the *English Historical Review* an article on *The Old Sepoy Officer*, containing an account of the careers of four native officers of the Madras Army; and in 1914 he followed up this vein in *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*. He next undertook a most useful piece of work in the shape of a catalogue of the Orme MSS. in the India Office Library, which was published officially in 1916. At the time of his death he had completed a similar catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous series of the India Office Records, and this work is now in the press. In addition he had found time to make valuable contributions to various journals, including the *Indian Antiquary*, *Bengal: Past and Present*, and the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

We reproduce from the *Times* of May 24th last the obituary notice of the late Mr. S. C. Hill. Mr. Hill was a pioneer of research work in India and his death is a great loss.

MR. S. C. HILL.

“Mr. Samuel Charles Hill, historian of East India Company days, has died at Torquay, at the age of 68. His labours on India Office records, continued to his death, extended the family service to India over a century. His grandfather, the Rev. Micaiah Hill, went out to Calcutta as an agent for the London Missionary Society in 1822, edited the *Asiatic Observer*, and in 1824 founded the mission station at Berhampore, Murshidabad. His son, the Rev. Samuel John Hill, succeeded him and conducted the mission from 1856 to his death in 1891. His memory is still warmly cherished in Bengal, and four of his sons have gained distinction. The eldest, Dr. Micaiah Hill, F.R.S., Emeritus Professor of Mathematics in the University of London, was born at Berhampore in 1856, and he and his parents narrowly escaped murder in the Mutiny. They were refugees at Fort William, Calcutta, where the second son, Samuel Charles, was born. A younger brother, Dr. George F. Hill, is the Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and another, Mr. W. R. Hill, was sometime secretary to the Finance Committee of the University of London.

Hill was educated at the school for the sons of missionaries at Blackheath, at University College School, and at University College, London. He joined the Indian Educational Department in 1881, was appointed Principal of the Krishnagar College in 1888, and subsequently held Professorships in the Hooghly and Presidency Colleges. He ended his service as Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, but found his real bent when Lord Curzon selected him in 1900 to succeed Sir George Forrest as the officer in charge of Government of India Records, with the status of Assistant Secretary, Home Department. His most important book was his

"Bengal in 1756-57," two most critical years. His "Three Frenchmen in Bengal" (Renault, Law, and Courtin, "Chiefs" respectively of Chandernagore, Cossimbazar, and Dacca), throws much incidental light on the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy. Hill also wrote a biography of Claud Martin, the founder of the Martiniere Schools at Calcutta and Lucknow. After retirement from the Educational Service in 1912 Hill was selected to assist in the preparation of a systematic *catalogue raisonné* of the extensive collections of manuscripts in European languages in the India Office Library, and his Catalogue of the Orme Collection was published in 1916. He had since been engaged in cataloguing the important 'Home Miscellaneous' Records. His "Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant" came out in 1914. All this work is marked by scientific exactitude in research, as well as by sound judgment and clarity. Some 30 years ago he collaborated with Mr. Hallward in an edition of Lamb's "Essays of Elia," which is still in demand as a school text-book. He married the second daughter of Mr. Marriott Ogle Tarbotton, the builder of the Trent bridge at Nottingham. Their only child died in infancy."

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
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The Late Rao Bahadur D. B. PARASNIS
of Satara.

The Late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

ON March 31st, 1926, occurred the sad and untimely death of Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Balwant Parasnis, a well-known citizen of Satara and a most enthusiastic worker in the field of Maratha History. Five or six days before his demise he had been suffering from fever accompanied by shivering. But little did any body dream that it would end so suddenly and fatally. He was fifty-six years old when he passed away. He leaves behind him his old and infirm parents, wife and several children, together with countless friends, both European and Indian, to mourn his loss.

D. B. Parasnis was born on the 27th November 1870. He was educated at Satara. Even when in school, he was passionately fond of reading the lives of eminent historical personages, especially of Maharashtra, and on his own initiative started a monthly magazine, replete with useful information which attracted the attention of such a renowned statesman and scholar as the late Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao. There was no difficulty in his passing the Matriculation examination. But during his college career he threw himself with greater vigour into the pursuit of his beloved subject, namely, historical research, and his untiring energy in that direction found an outlet in the *Maharashtra Kokil* a magazine started and regularly conducted by him for some years. This, however, seriously interfered with his higher education and he had soon to give up the idea of securing a University degree. In the year 1894 he published "the Life of the Rani of Jhansi", which was before long translated into the various vernaculars of India. This was followed by the publication of his another book, "the Exploits of the Marathas in Bundelkhand." About this time he turned his attention to politics and translated the Congress Report into Marathi for the benefit of the people of Maharashtra. During this (happily) very period of political activity he came in contact with the late Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade who advised him to leave the political field and devote himself entirely to the pursuit of History for which he was by nature intended. This advice he followed with alacrity, much to the benefit of India in general and Maharashtra in particular. And it is believed that he was of immense use to that veteran scholar when he wrote his classical book, "The Rise of the Maratha Power."

In 1898 he started another magazine, *Bharat Varsha* which was devoted solely to historical literature. And from that year down to 1902 he published a number of books such as "the Nawabs of Oudh", "Bramhendra Swami of Dhavadshi", "Life of Baija Bai Shinde of Gwalior", "Delhi" and so forth before he sailed to England with H.H. the late Maharaja of Kolhapur. In 1908 he started his third magazine *Itihas Sangraha* which, even during its short life of seven years, published much valuable historical material, throwing light upon many obscure and hidden

points in Maratha history. He rendered similarly invaluable services to the cause of Maratha history when under the general guidance of Mahadev Govinda Ranade he was allowed to work in the Peshwas' Duftar preserved in the Land Alienation Office. Some of the volumes which embodied his Selections from the Duftars were published under the auspices of the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society of Poona and some under the patronage of Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji. Later on he wrote in English several interesting books on the Maratha history, the important among them being "Mahableshwar" (1916), "The Sangli State" (1917), "Poona in bygone Days" (1921), and "Panhala" (1923). He also co-operated most heartily and assiduously with Mr. C. A. Kincaid in bringing out 'A history of the Maratha People' in three volumes. In the Preface of the first of these volumes Mr. Kincaid generously acknowledges the vast knowledge, the untiring industry, and, above all, the unrivalled collection of Maratha papers which he readily placed at his disposal.

If we now take a stock of the various publications which Parasnis brought out and try to form a critical estimate of the work he did in this respect, we are compelled to agree with Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in saying that "he lived and died a collector and editor, and not a historian." The Professor seems to be right in further remarking that "it was rather unfortunate that Parasnis rushed to journalism too early, instead of completing his education." For he, would have then read some of the classical books of history written by savants of deep erudition and world-wide reputation, and would have obtained an adequate conception of history and, above all, an insight into the methods of historical criticism. Nevertheless, the work which Parasnis has done even as collector and editor is invaluable, and will be of immense use to whosoever may want to write the History of the Marathas. What is, above all, noteworthy about him was the impression he invariably gave to every body in whose contact he came, namely, that he knew much more than what he had time to publish. He possessed intimate knowledge of the delicate points connected with the private lives of the Maratha and Peshwa rulers, which he was afraid to publish for fear of giving umbrage to his countrymen. The writer of this article remembers very well the record which was in Parasnis's possession and which gave rise to a most acrimonious controversy as to whether Baji Rao I took food at the hands of his Musalman prostitute, Mastani.

But perhaps the greatest service which Parasnis has rendered to the cause of Maratha history is the foundation of the Museum at Satara containing his Collection. When he went to England in the company of the late Maharaja of Kolhapur, he happened to visit the British Museum and similar other institutions, which inspired him with the idea of founding a historical museum and collecting old records and documents. After his return he set himself to this task and in a short time succeeded in rescuing from oblivion and destruction a number of valuable records, documents and chronicles. These he developed into such a big and interesting collection that it attracted the notice of Lord Sydenham, a Governor of Bombay, who visited Satara in 1909 with the specific object of seeing and examining the Collection. Shortly

after that event, the idea of erecting a magnificent museum was conceived by Parasnīs and encouraged by Lord Willingdon, who succeeded Lord Sydenham. But the Great War broke out, temporarily stopping the work of the Museum building, which, after many vicissitudes, came to be completed in 1924, that is, after a period of eleven years! The opening ceremony of this Museum was performed by Sir Leslie Wilson, the present Governor of Bombay on 3rd November, 1925,—which day Parasnīs used to say to his friends “was the proudest and happiest day of his life.” But alas! hardly five months were over after this event, when he was ruthlessly snatched away by cruel Death. In the newly opened Museum he very graciously deposited his old valuable records, documents (Marathi, English and Persian), rare maps and plans, autograph letters, and his magnificent library containing rare books on Indian history, for the use of the public thereby facilitating research work for scholars. Still more attractive and important is his collection of valuable, beautiful and genuine old Indian paintings, of both Rajput and Mogul schools, and the magnificent collection of old coins.

In 1913 D. B. Parasnīs was in recognition of his services to Maratha history and literature made a “Rao Bahadur”, which honour is rarely bestowed on persons engaged in his pursuits. Similarly, he was a co-opted member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, to whose annual meetings he regularly contributed a paper bearing on some interesting subject or another in Maratha history. But perhaps the greatest monument to his fame is that raised by himself, namely, his unique collections which is housed in the Satara Museum. It is impossible to gauge or describe the extreme value of this collection unless one sees it oneself. And the question that is now before the minds of historians and research scholars is what is going to be the future of this Museum and its collection. From the historical point of view Satara was perhaps the fittest place for the location of this Museum. But if the collection is to be of real use to a scholar and antiquarian, it should have been housed somewhere in Bombay or Poona. It is, however, too late to mend matters in this connection. But the Bombay Government may do well to consider whether the collection of antiquities they purchased in 1915-6, from Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji, at no less a price than Rs. 142,500 can be amalgamated with that deposited in the Satara Museum. It is well-known that Purushottamji's collection consists largely of antiquities of the Maratha period and it was Parasnīs himself who helped him to purchase and form this collection. If the two collections can be brought together in one building, it will very much enhance the usefulness of both and will be of far greater help to a scholar or historian in the pursuit of his studies. Again, it must be remembered that Parasnīs spent his whole fortune and life in collecting and preserving the old records and documents in a thoroughly selfless spirit and for the sake of the people. And it seems but just and proper that the Museum, whatever its controlling agency ultimately may be, should be named after the Maratha scholar who has laid students of history under his deepest obligations.

Our Library Table.

Rajah Rammohun Roy's Mission to England by Brojendranath Banerji.

(N. M. Roychaudhuri & Co., Calcutta: Rupee One and Annas Four).

This is a useful little sketch of the circumstances which led Rajah Rammohun Roy to visit England, and the author has incorporated some entirely new correspondence of interest which he discovered in the Imperial Record Office. Unfortunately the work falls between two stools; it is neither a book nor a pamphlet; it is too small for the purchase of a library and too circumscribed for individual purchase: yet it contains valuable and useful information carefully put together, and fully annotated. It is an interesting addition to our accounts of Rajah Rammohun.

The Memoirs of William Hickey, Vol. IV (1790—1809).

(Hurst & Blackett, Ltd.)

The appearance of the fourth and concluding volume of these memoirs completes what is already an Indian Classic. The memoirs in this volume commence with an account of a voyage to Madras, taken for the writer's health and closes abruptly in 1809 after Hickey had settled in England, at Beaconsfield.

Many readers will no doubt agree that this volume is the most interesting of the four. By 1790, Hickey was shedding his "raffish" habits, and between 1790 and 1809 he became a prominent and respected member of Calcutta Society: he could always hold his own with the bottle as his account (pp. 189—191) shows of Colonel Sherbrooke's party in "his country residence, a small mansion at the pretty village of Aylpore, three miles from Calcutta".—This party contained some of the strongest heads in Calcutta, among whom, it is interesting to note, was Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington: "after drinking two and twenty bumpers in glasses of considerable magnitude, the President [Colonel Sherbrooke] said everyone might then fill according to his discretion, and so *discreet* were all of the Company that we continued to follow the Colonel's example of drinking bumpers until two o'clock in the morning...a more severe debauch I never was engaged in in any part of the world." "Autre temps, autres mœurs"; Hickey relates this with a complacency that reads strangely when compared with his attitude towards cheroot smoking. General St. Leger's demand for a cigar (pp. 157—158) was considered by Hickey to be a jest, "not supposing so elegant a man could ever have been in the habit of using so vulgar a herb": when he realised that General St. Leger was in earnest, Hickey led the General up to a room "used only by the servants by the circular back stairs": in other words, by the sweeper's staircase; imagine being conducted nowadays by a similar route to enjoy a smoke.



ROSE AYLMER'S TOMB.
Showing the Abbot's Tomb, bearing Lancelot's Effigy.
(Photos by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)

Names of the greatest interest to all readers of old Calcutta history frequently occur. The pomp of Lord Wellesley and the simple habits of Lord Cornwallis are forcibly contrasted in the description (pp. 318—320) of the reception of Lord Cornwallis by Lord Wellesley in the new Government House in May 1805: Lord Cornwallis actually refused to drive in the carriage sent to meet him, and walked to Government House (this was in May) "accompanied by many gentlemen of the Settlement" who had gone to meet him. We read further that "the two Marquises embraced" at the foot of the stairs of Government House, and then proceeded up the stairs hand-in-hand. Viceroys nowadays adopt a less picturesque method of taking and handing over charge.

Hickey pays tribute to Rose Aylmer's beauty. This lady was a daughter of Lord Aylmer who had married Lady Russell's sister, and who had come out with her Aunt to India: she died, according to Hickey of some "severe bowel complaint," probably some form of dysentery, "brought on by indulging too much with that mischievous and dangerous fruit, the pineapple, against eating so much of which I had frequently cautioned her...and she laughed at me for my grave sermons."

One of the most ludicrous incidents in the book is the description of the new fashion in ladies' frocks (pp. 114—115) which the ladies who arrived in the *Thetis*, *Indiaman*, displayed; "a style that appeared to us Goths as unbecoming, as preposterous: this was the no-waist system." Further quotations cannot be made in the discreet pages of *Bengal Past and Present*, but the Dutch gentleman from Chinsura may be said to have taken the prize for "floaters" on that occasion.

Chinsura figures largely in this volume, and the references have great interest for the reviewer, who is at present living there. No trace exists of Hickey's house, but it is hoped that with the aid of some local gentlemen a few records and relics of this period may yet be found. Apparently Hickey came from Calcutta to Chinsura in four hours, about twice the normal time taken to-day: crossing the ferry at Pulta, he must have landed at Champdani, and he states that his house was exactly nine miles from where he quitted the ferry: it was close to the river. His reasons for building the house, which cost him Rs. 40,000, were to gratify his Indian mistress whom he calls "Jemdanee," of whom he was extremely fond, and who seems to have been a very attractive and amusing lady. He entertained a lot in this house and among his guests were Colonel Wellesley, Sir Henry Russell, General St. Leger and all the "bon ton" of Calcutta, of course without their wives. In June 1797 Hickey had a large house party, for the three days racing which "could scarcely have been excelled at New Market...the different horses that ran were undoubtedly as beautiful animals as could be found in any part of the world..." Such horses are no longer seen in Chinsurah, where all recollection even of the site of the Race-Course has been lost. On the 4th June, Hickey celebrated the King's birthday, "engaging an eminent French cook from Calcutta to dress the dinner." Sixteen sat down, and General St. Leger "in the course of the evening sang 'the British Grenadiers' with high spirit", so that was that; but "at ten o'clock the

next morning...all complained more or less of headache or slight sickness." How one would have liked to have seen Col. Wellesley's face, say, during the singing of "the British Grenadiers," or "the next morning". The Dutch Governor, Mr. Van Citters, also entertained the party.

The whole book is full of good things, and there is a temptation to quote from almost every page. After 1800, Hickey was clear of debt and found himself without any effort accumulating money fast enough to make a return to England possible. His health and his constitution were showing signs, as well they might do, of wear and tear. When he left Bengal, he had saved about a lakh and a half of rupees. His passage home cost Rs. 8,000; his outfit in clothes, "furniture for cabin", Rs. 20,800 and his outlay in wine for the voyage, Rs. 1,235. He distributed Rs. 2,000 among his 63 servants, and by the time he had met all expenses he had Rs. 92,000 left, which, invested with the Company, brought in an income of some £900 per annum. The story of his voyage home is told in detail.

Hickey was a snob in some respects, and his comments on his contemporaries must be received with caution. He thought little of any man who did not belong to the same hard-drinking lot as himself, or who had no influential connections. He was otherwise a fair judge of men, and a staunch friend. He has his counterpart to-day, *mutatis mutandis*, in many parts of India. His memoirs, as a self-revelation, are only equalled by the diary of Samuel Pepys, and there is a cynical honesty about Hickey in regard to himself which is wholly wanting in Samuel Pepys.

The volume is, as may be expected, admirably printed and produced and edited. The prefatory note of the Editor gives some interesting details of the manuscript; there are also useful notes also which indicate the portions deleted in each of the four volumes. The manuscript should be a national possession, and deposited in the British Museum.

R. B. R.

The Editor's Note Book.

THE EDITOR is glad to announce that H. E. the Viceroy has kindly consented to become Patron of the Calcutta Historical Society in succession to Lord Reading.

Lord Irwin is a distinguished student of History, obtaining a 1st class in the Honour School of modern History at Oxford, and afterwards obtaining the great distinction of being elected in the same subject to a Fellowship of All Souls.

PLACE AUX DAMES. In 1787 "Bob" Pott was Resident at Moorsheda-
bad and living in royal state in his mansion at Afzulbaug.
Miss Sally Cruttenden. Among his other accomplishments we suspect the volatile
Robert to have been a poetizer. In 1788 he married his
first cousin Miss Sally Cruttenden, and on Thursday, April 26th, 1787, there
appeared the following verses in the Poet's Corner of the *Calcutta Gazette*
with the note, "Sir, By inserting the accompanying in your Paper, you will
oblige A Well Wisher."

ACROSTICK.

Some who a partner seek for life
Are anxious for a wealthy wife;
Look for high birth, a title crave,
Love seems to them but Lucre's slave.
Ye sordid fools, just heed ye find.
Choose! with more judicious mind,
Riches of greater worth than gold.
Unconscious dignity: unfold
The soul with noblest gifts elate,
Tho' humble to the lowest state.
Endowments, all that tend to please,
Neatness, elegance, cheerful ease.
Dance, musick, song; fair form and face
Each mental charm; each winning grace,
Nam'd in the lines which now I trace.

It is an interesting comment to find that the lady who combined like Minerva so much intellect with so much charm was a heiress with an income of six thousands pounds a year.

A YEAR after his marriage Pott was dismissed from his office. His
Dr. Percival Pott. career is altogether different from that of his father,
Dr. Percival Pott (1713-1788) of whom may almost be
said the words which Napoleon used of his famous surgeon Dominique Jean
Baron de Larrey (1766-1842), when leaving him in his testament a legacy

of 100,000 francs, "C'est l'homme le plus vertueux que j'aie connu." It is not generally known that Larrey was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Waterloo. Percival Pott's bust by Hollins adorns the Council Room of the Royal College of Surgeons, the place where sits or sat the awful conclave of Examiners. The Doctor at a comparatively early age was appointed principal surgeon at Barts and only resigned that office in 1787 "after having served it," as he expressed himself, "man and boy for half a century" and in Dec. 1788 he died at the age of 75. Sir Charles Blicke, his assistant, succeeded him and his assistant-surgeon was the famous John Abernethy (1764-1831) who really founded the distinguished medical school of this the most ancient hospital in London.

There is an interesting reference to "Bob" Pott's troubles in the Nesbitt Thompson Letters No. 10, printed in *B. P. and P.*, Vol. XVI.

"Pott In Hot Water." Serial No. 31, page 10. Writing from Alipoor on Thursday August 17th 1785 he remarks "Poor Pott has been in hot water ever since you left us. The villainous intrigues of his own Dewan Soonder Sing and of the Begum's Dewan Roy Maunick Churn have kept up the fire. I have in vain endeavoured to extinguish it—for to go on with the metaphor—pott boiled over and I was in danger of being scalded."

ON the 27th January 1785 was published "Printed in the manner of the Bath Guide and Embellished with copper plates. The Indian Guide or Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies in a series of Political Epistles to her mother from Miss Emily Brittle." No copy of this curious specimen of light literature is extant to-day in Calcutta. It was presumably a precursor of Hartly House, a series of 39 letters "to her friend Arabella," published in London and Dublin in 1789 by a literary hack who wrote under the pseudonym of Sophia Goldborne and whom I strongly suspect to have been Mr. Johnston, author of *Chrysal* or the Adventures of a Guinea. The witty author of the New Bath Guide was Christopher Anstey (1724-1805) who lies buried with Madame d'Arblay in St. Withins Walcot. "So much wit," wrote Horace Walpole, "so much humour, fun and poetry never met together before." A good story is told in the life of James Smith (joint-author with his brother Charles of the Rejected Addresses) that when Anstey was presented to the veteran Bishop Warburton, he said, "Young man, I will give you a piece of advice; you have written a highly successful work; never put pen to paper again."

ANSTEY nevertheless did put pen to paper again with excellent effect in the Election Ball and in An Imitation of the First Ode of the First Book of Horace, to John Miller, Esq., whose wife had established a poetical coterie at her villa at Batheaston. Among the characters described by the Bathonian bard is an old Nabob.

Colonel Jaghire
in Anstey's New
Bath Guide (1766).

Secure from wars, and dangerous seas,
 Colonel Jaghire enjoys his ease.
 Buys lands, and beeves with Indian gold,
 Which some poor English squire has sold;
 King, Lords, and Commons he defies,
 "The town is all my own," he cries,
 "That cursed climate I've been hurt in
 "And nabob-making grows uncertain—
 "This snug retreat I'm safe from harm in,—
 "How sweet that wood! that lawn how charming."
 But ah! his passion soon returns,
 With restless flames his bosom burns;
 His bark he rigs, resolv'd once more
 The distant Ganges to explore,
 Rather than on his native ground
 To starve—on fourscore thousand pound.

THE *Times* of the 3rd October, 1809, had the following curious advertisement which was reproduced in the same paper on the 2nd October, a hundred years later. The Catalogue (page 823) of the Calcutta Imperial Library shows that a copy of the work is in the library. "This day is published, price 6s. boards, *The Ladies' Monitor*, being a series of Letters, first published in Bengal, upon the subject of female apparel; tending to favour a regulated adoption of Indian costume, and a rejection of superfluous vesture, by the Ladies of this country; with Incidental Remarks upon Hindu beauty, whalebone stays, iron busks, Indian corsets, man millinery, idle bachelors, hair powder, side saddles, waiting maids, and footmen. By the author of a *Vindication of the Hindus*.

'From vulgar bounds, with brave disorder part,
 'And snatch a grace, beyond the reach of art.'—Pope."

THAT fortunes were to be made by officers in the old East India Company's army is exemplified by the case of John Forbes, who entered the Bengal Army as a cadet in 1764 and retired from it on Aug. 21, 1799 a Major General. On his death the *Gentleman's Magazine* records; "Oct. 3, 1808. At his house in Dunbar, Major General John Forbes, late in the E. I. Co.'s Service. He returned from Bengal about 8 years ago with a competent fortune after serving the Company with reputation about 40 years. He was the youngest son of George Forbes Esquire of Lockermick, near Aberdeen." He commanded the station at Berhampore, when William Hickey dashed through it with Pott and his body-guard of troopers in 1785 on the occasion of his and Major George Russell's visit to Pott's palace at Afzulbaug. At the dinner party at 2 p.m. at which 30 sat down in Pott's mansion was present George Farington, the landscape painter, a brother of Joseph Farington, R.A., who died at Moorshedabad in 1788. George Russell rose in his

Major General
 John Forbes.

turn to be Major General and died Dec. 6, 1827 in London, after a service in the Bengal Army which extended from 1767 to 1813.

SECOND in command at Berhampore was Colonel Horton Briscoe, who Major General Horton Briscoe. also closed his career as a Major General, dying at Calcutta on Christmas day 1802 aged 61 "after a period of 40 years of unremitted service" as his epitaph in the South Park Street burial ground testifies. His daughter Maria or Marian was born in the Hastings House in Calcutta and is said to have derived her Christian name from the second Mrs. Hastings. She returned to India in 1793 under the care of Lady Shore in the same ship with the Misses Blunt and her sisters. They all married well but Maria "obiit May 16, 1796, Ætat 24. Hinc illæ lacrimæ." Her brother Lieut. John J. Briscoe, of the Bengal Artillery, had died 4 years earlier on Nov. 2, 1792 aged 27.

IN the Fourth Volume of Hickey's Memoirs mention is made of the arrival of these young ladies. "The Thetis Indiaman (Captain Bullock) which arrived in July (1793) brought out a great importation of new ladies, the whole dressed in the The No-Waist System. no-waist system, a style that appeared to us Goths as unbecoming as preposterous. The importation consisted of Lady Shore, with one daughter about 13 years of age, five daughters of Sir Charles Blunt and the same number of General Briscoe's; all very fine, showy, and dashing women. With the single exception of the eldest Miss Blunt, they all shortly after arrival married very advantageously. Miss Blunt had a profusion of suitors and many offers, but capriciously, as was deemed, refused them all. After residing a few seasons in Bengal, she returned to England still a spinster, but had not long been at home before she married Mr. Imhoff, one of Mrs. Hasting's sons by her German husband."

HORTON BRISCOE was twice married, first to Maria Howett on Feb. 9, 1769, and secondly to Millicent Jane Banks on July 28, 1774. The Misses Briscoe. The birth of twin daughters by his first wife is recorded in the Register of Baptisms of St. John's Church, Calcutta, on Dec. 9, 1769; their names being Anna Bella and Elizabeth. The child Anna Bella died on Dec. 15, 1769. By his second wife Millicent he had the daughter Maria, baptized on Nov. 6, 1777, whose death we have just recorded.

FROM Lady Shore's garden house on May 20, 1795, two of the The Misses Blunt. Misses Blunt were married to two titled Bengal civilians, Anna Maria to the Hon. Charles Andrew Bruce, brother of the seventh Lord Elgin, and Lydia, the fifth daughter, to Sir Alexander Seton, Bart. Anna Maria died at Hooghly Sept. 19, 1798, after one day's illness, aged 23, and her husband after 27 years' service in Bengal was appointed Governor of Prince of Wales' Island, a post he held for only ten months, dying there on Sept. 26, 1810, aged 42.

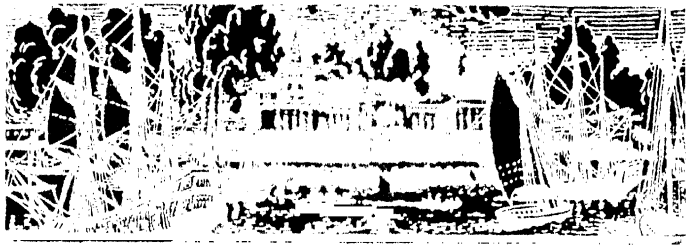
WILLIAM HODGES, R.A., in his *Travels in India*, writing of the tomb of the Emperor Acbar at Secundrii (three coss or a little less from Delhi) which he visited with Major Brown in Feb. 1783 speaks of a large print "by that excellent artist Mr. Brown which has been engraved and published from a picture of the Grand Gate, which gives a more perfect idea of its grandeur than words are able to express."

IS anything known of the print and of its artist? And is anything known of Mr. Morris, the portrait painter who advertised as follows? "Portrait Painting. Mr. Morris having taken a house in Wheler Place, directly behind the Governor's House, begs leave to inform such ladies and gentlemen who may be inclined to favour him with their sittings, that he is ready to paint them at the following prices. A head size, 15 gold mohurs. Three-quarters, 20 ditto. Kitcat, 25. Half length, 40. Whole length 80. Calcutta 5th April 1798." The prices quoted show the rates of the time, but ten years later Mr. F. F. Belnos, miniature painter and drawing master, "painted miniature pictures at the rate of 130 sicca rupees each. 25th January 1810."

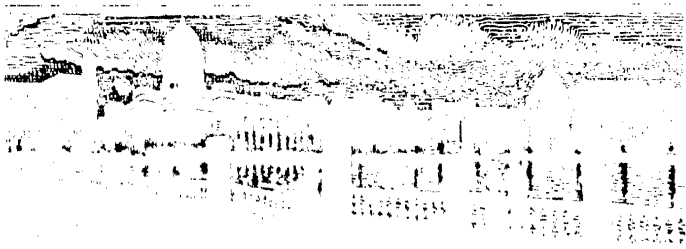
WARREN HASTINGS talks somewhere in his Diary of building a Bath-room in his house at Daylesford. The fashion seems to have prevailed in Calcutta long before, judging from the announcement which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* for Thursday, April 27th, 1788. "The practice now universally adopted among the genteel families of the Settlement, of having Baths in their houses, lined, or only floored with marble slabs likewise Halls and other Apartments, induces James Palmer (No. 39 Rada Bazar) to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen of this Settlement, that he has lately purchased a large Assortment of marble slabs, for the above mentioned purposes. He erects marble Baths, and lays marble floors in Halls and other Apartments, on the most reasonable terms."

MR. PALMER is the same gentleman who offered his whole-time services to the public in a different capacity some years earlier. "James Palmer, Undertaker, near Mr. Oliphant's, Coach Maker, Cossatoollah. Most respectfully informs the public, that in consequence of the encouragement he has received from the Chaplains of this Presidency, he has laid in a stock of new and elegant Coffin Furniture, and of all other materials proper for the above business, which he is resolved and enabled to execute on the most reasonable terms, and therefore hopes for the countenance and support of the Settlement, being determined to pay due attention to his business, and having no other employment to call him from it."

J. J. COTTON.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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The Death of Lord Pigot, Governor of Madras.

(Extracts from the Records of the Government of India: III.)

THE documents which are reproduced below make astounding reading for modern eyes, even in times of general strikes and communal tension.

In May 1777 a Coroner's Jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against many of the leading members of the Madras Government, who thereon surrendered themselves to the Sheriff.

Lord Pigot assumed the Governorship of Madras in April 1775 and was very soon on bad terms with his Council because of his resolute efforts to purify the public service, and to check the prevalent corruption and peculation. In 1776 he went to Tanjore, where there had been a difficult succession question, and restored the Raja to the Gaddi. This brought upon him the hostility of Mahomed Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, who used his influence to have Pigot attacked and thwarted in the Council; among the Nawab's dependents was the notorious Paul Bensfield and Floyer who had been removed from Bengal in 1772 as a punishment for signing a letter, when on the Select Committee, which the Court of Directors considered to be insubordinate. The officer commanding the troops—Sir Robert Fletcher—was also among those who opposed the Governor. Lord Pigot gave orders for the arrest of Sir Robert Fletcher and for the suspension of certain members of the Council. This produced an explosion. The "mutineers," for no other word can be used, seized the person of the Governor and placed him in confinement "some nine miles from Madras where he was left in an officer's house under the charge of a battery of artillery."* Lord Pigot was by now over fifty-seven years of age; the strain and the indignity to which he had been subjected proved too much for his health and he died a prisoner on May 11th, 1777. The Coroner's verdict brought in a verdict of wilful murder against all those who had been concerned in the seizure of the late Governor. This embarrassed the acting Government who applied to the Government of Fort William for the opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court upon the legality of the verdict of the Coroner's Jury. The Supreme Court, as will be seen, considered this verdict to be irregular.

The full details can be read in the histories of Thornton and of Mill, also in Lord Mahon's History of England, while an excellent summary is given in the Dictionary of National Biography (1896 Edn.), Volume XLV

R. B. R.

* D. N. B., XLV, p. 279 (1896).

To

THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, ESQR.,
Governor General, and Council at Fort William. (1)

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

On the 24th of last Month the Proceedings of an Inquest held on the Body of the late Lord Pigot at his Decease, were delivered into our Hands. The Verdict charged all the Gentlemen in the late Administration and sundry other Persons with the wilful Murder of his Lordship. All the Gentlemen accused who were at the Presidency, immediately surrendered themselves to the Sheriff, and as the Sessions were to be held in a few Days after, it became the Duty of the Justices to consider how they were to proceed in a Trial of so much Importance.

In the present state of this settlement it appeared to us very difficult, if not totally impossible to select Men sufficiently dispassionate to serve on the Grand and Petit Juries. We were also under some Doubt in respect to certain points of Law which might occur in the Course of the Trial. For these reasons We determined to adjourn the Sessions for such a Period as might afford Us time to remedy these Defects to the utmost of our power, by requiring the Assistance of some Gentlemen at the subordinate Settlements to serve on the Juries, and by applying through you for the best Information We could obtain upon the points of Law

We beg leave in Consequence to enclose you a Copy of the Inquest, and also of the Bill of Indictment which was proposed to have been given to the Grand Jury, upon which the following Queries occur to Us as necessary for obtaining the Opinion We stand in need of.

Query 1st.—Whether the Justices ought to allow exception being made to the Coroner, as being appointed by the President and Council, and if such Exception be admitted, who has properly the power of appointing that Officer.

2nd.—Whether the Justices ought to allow Exception against Mr. Ram, the Coroner on the present Inquest on Account of another Coroner having been appointed by Mr. Shatton and the rest of the Gentlemen of the late Administration, or for his having at any time declined to officiate, supposing this latter Circumstance which is at present doubtful, should be found true?

3rd.—Whether the Justices ought to quash the Inquest on account of any of those Exceptions, or on account of Irregularities in the Proceedings should any such appear?

4th.—Whether all those Persons accused by Name should be indicted for Murder or for Manslaughter, or whether some only should be indicted as principals and the others as Accessaries before the Fact—and in this last Case, who should be Considered as principals and who as Accessaries?

5th.—Whether in Criminal Matters the Informations of Persons beyond the Seas can be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury?

6th.—Whether the Jurors that sate on the Inquest can be examined as Evidence before the Court and before the Grand Jury, or either?

7th.—Whether the Jury on the Inquest ought to be unanimous in their Verdict, and whether they may decide by any and what Majority?

8th.—Whether the Proceedings of the Inquest in case it should be quashed, can be demanded by the Grand Jury?

9th.—Whether, if the Inquest and Proceedings thereon should be deemed legal, the Examinations of such Persons as gave Evidence before the Coroner and who may forfeit their Recognizance by going to England may be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury on the Trial?

10th.—Whether any and what Challenge lies on the part of the Coroner or Prisoner against a Grand Jury Man?

Our President having acquainted us that Mr. Benjamin Sullivan who lately arrived here, had obtained Permission of the Court of Directors to come out to India to Act as a Barrister at Bengal. We thought it expedient in these times, to request of him to remain here for a few Months to afford us the Benefit of his Advise on any points of Law wherein We might have occasion to consult him; and it is with the Desire of this Gentleman that We have applied to you to obtain Information from such high Authority as that of the Hon'ble the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature, whether in their official or private Characters.

Should there be any other Points besides those stated in the several Queries, whereon it may be necessary for us to have Information, We hope to be indulged with it—And as our Sessions are adjourned only to the 12th of November, it is of material consequence that We should receive your answer to this letter before that day or as soon after as may be possible.

We have the honor to be,

Hon'ble Sir & Sirs,

Your most obedient

humble servants,

JOHN WHITEHILL.

ANTH. SADLEIR.

N. CRAWFURD.

FORT ST. GEORGE,
3rd October, 1777.

TOWNS OF MADRASPATNAM SS. (2)

An Inquisition indented, taken at the Company's Garden House distant about a Mile from Fort Saint George and within the districts of the Town of Madraspatnam aforesaid the eleventh day of May, in the seventeenth year of the Reign of our sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith and so forth, and in the year of our Lord, One thousand seven Hundred, and seventy seven, before me George Andrew Ram Coroner of our said Lord the King for the Town and Districts of Madraspatnam aforesaid, on the view of the Body of the Right Honourable George Lord Pigot, Baron Pigot of Pateshull in the Kingdom of Ireland, then and there lying dead, and by adjournment at the House of George Smith, (Foreman on the said Inquisition) in the said Fort the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth,

sixteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, twentyfirst, twentysixth, twentyseventh and thirtieth days of the said Month, also the second, fifth, sixth, ninth, seventeenth, eighteenth, twentysixth and thirtieth days of the Month of June in the said year, also the seventh, tenth, twelfth and thirtieth days of July in the said year, also the fifth and seventh days of the month of August in the said year on the Oaths of George Smith, aforesaid Andrew Ross, George Baker, Thomas Powney, Thomas Pelling, John De Fries, Robert Ewing, George Taswell, Alexander Cuthbert, Robert Farquhar, William Parsons and John Turing, good and lawful Men of Madraspatnam aforesaid, who being sworn and charged to enquire on behalf of our said Lord the King, when, where, after what manner, and by what means the said George Lord Pigot came to his Death;—do say upon their Oaths "That George Stratton, Henry Brooke,—Charles Floyer,—Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, and George Mackay in the Civil service of the English East India Company at Madraspatnam aforesaid; Brigadier General, Sir Robert Fletcher, Colonel James Stuart, Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, Adjutant General, Captain Arthur Lysaght in the said Company's service at Madraspatnam aforesaid not having the fear of God before their Eyes, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, on or before the twenty-fourth day of August in the sixteenth year of the Reign of our said Lord the King with force and Arms, within the Districts of the said Town of Madraspatnam, against the said George Lord Pigot, Governor of the said Fort Saint George and its dependencies then and there being in the Peace of God and of our said Lord the King, feloniously, voluntarily and of their Malice forethought did combine and conspire to seize, confine, and keep as a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot and to take from him the said George Lord Pigot the Government of the said Fort Saint George and its Dependencies and to place the Government of the said Fort Saint George and its dependancies in the hands of the said George Stratton,—And that in pursuance of the said Combination and Conspiracy the said Colonel James Stuart did accompany the said George Lord Pigot in the Chain of the said George Lord Pigot on the Road between the said Fort Saint George and the said Garden House between the Hours of seven and eight in the evening of the said twentyfourth of August in the year aforesaid, And that the said Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, aided and abetted by certain Seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, armed with Muskets and Bayonets, the said Chaise then and there did stop, and the said Colonel James Stuart, the said Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, together with the aforesaid Captain Arthur Lysaght, having and holding in his the said Arthur Lysaght's right hand a Pistol, in and upon the said George Lord Pigot, then and there being in the chaise aforesaid in the Peace of God and of our Sovereign Lord the King did make an assault and the said George Lord Pigot did then and there put in Bodily fear, and the said George Lord Pigot did then and there seize and make a Prisoner, and did then and there compel and force the said George Lord Pigot to quit his the said George Lord Pigot's Chaise aforesaid, and then and there to enter a Post Chariot belonging to Paul Benfield, in the said Company's

Civil Service, into which said Post Chariot the said Captain Arthur Lysaght did also then and there enter, and the said Captain Arthur Lysaght, did then and there take with him the Pistol aforesaid, in order to restore, confine, and keep a Prisoner the said, George Lord Pigot in the said Post Chariot. And that a serjeant in the said Company's Service to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown was then and there present aiding and abetting the said Colonel James Stuart, the said Lieutenant Colonel James Eidingtoun, and the said Captain Arthur Lysaght in seizing and making a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot in manner and form aforesaid. And that the said Post Chariot was then driven to Saint Thomas's Mount and between the Hours of Eight and Nine in the Evening of the said twenty fourth of August in the Year aforesaid did arrive at a House at the said Saint Thomas's Mount belonging to Major Matthew Horne commanding the corps of Artillery in the said Company's Service then stationed at the said Saint Thomas's Mount—and that the said Captain Arthur Lysaght then and there did cause the said George Lord Pigot to alight from the said Post Chariot, and him the said George Lord Pigot did then and there deliver over as a Prisoner to the said Major Matthew Horne, And that the said Major Matthew Horne did then and there receive the said George Lord Pigot as a Prisoner, And that the said Major Matthew Horne did then and there himself, and by the Aid and assistance of certain Officers and Soldiers belonging to the said Corps of Artillery then and there acting under the Command of him the said Major Matthew Horne to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown did then and there restrain, confine and keep a Prisoner, and did cause to be restrained, confined and kept a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot, And that the said Major Matthew Horne, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil, feloniously voluntarily and of his Malice Aforethought, *himself*, and by the Aid and assistance of the said Officers and Soldiers unknown, did restrain, confine and keep a Prisoner and cause to be restrained, confined and kept a Prisoner the said George Lord Pigot at the said Saint Thomas's Mount, from the said twenty fourth of August in the said year, to the twenty eighth of April in the seventeenth Year of the Reign of our said Lord the King, and from the said twenty eighth of April till the eleventh of May in the said seventeenth Year of our said Lord the King the said Major Matthew Horne by the aid & assistance of certain Seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown and a Serjeant to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown the said George Lord Pigot did cause to be restrained confined and kept a Prisoner at the Company's Garden House aforesaid, And that immediately after the seizure of the said George Lord Pigot was effected as aforesaid, to wit the evening of the twenty fourth of August in the sixteenth Year of the reign of our said Lord the King, in pursuance of the combination and Conspiracy aforesaid, the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer Francis Jourdan and George Mackay the said Fort did enter, and did take possession of the said Fort and did assume the Government of the said Fort Saint George and its dependencies, and did issue Orders,

the said George Stratton as Governor, and the said Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay as Council for the affairs of the said Company at the said Fort Saint George and its dependencies. And that the said Colonel James Stuart did return to the said Fort after the seizure of the said George Lord Pigot, to wit between the Hours of seven and eight in the evening of the Twenty fourth of August aforesaid, and did then and there aid, abet comfort and maintain the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay in taking possession of the said Fort.—That the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay did issue an Order to the said Major Matthew Horne which was received by the said Major Matthew Horne, and by him shewn to the said George Lord Pigot in which said order were the following Words "*As the last resource in case of an attempt to rescue Lord Pigot his life must answer it, and this you will signify to him*" And that on the twenty seventh day of the said Month of August in the said year at the dead of night, the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun did come with a Post Chariot to the House of Major Matthew Horne aforesaid, and did inform the said Major Matthew Horne and the said George Lord Pigot he the said George Lord Pigot then and there being a Prisoner, and under restraint and Confinement that he the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun had orders from the Governor and Council, meaning thereby the said George Stratton, the said Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay to remove the said George Lord Pigot from Saint Thomas's Mount aforesaid that very night, to wit the night of the said twenty seventh of August, And that the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun did refuse to shew the said orders to the said George Lord Pigot and also did refuse to inform the said George Lord Pigot to what Place he the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun intended to remove him the said George Lord Pigot, And that the said Major Matthew Horne and the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun then and there did make an attempt to put into Execution the said orders against the consent and entreaty of the said George Lord Pigot.—And that the said George Lord Pigot was then and there by the said attempt and by the refusal aforesaid thrown into a violent agitation of Mind and Body, and did declare that he the said George Lord Pigot would not be *removed alive* And that the said Lieutenant Colonel James Edingtoun and the said Major Matthew Horne, from the aforesaid attempt did at length desist. And that sometime in the Month of October in the said Year the said George Lord Pigot at the said Saint Thomas Mount then and there being a Prisoner under the said confinement did receive information that the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay, had an intention of forcing and compelling him the said George Lord Pigot to go on board some Vessel belonging to the said East India Company in order to transport him the said George Lord Pigot to Europe. And that on or about the

fourth day of January in the seventeenth Year of the Reign of our said Lord the King the said George Lord Pigot at Said Thomas's Mount aforesaid then and there being and continuing a Prisoner, under the said restraint and confinement did receive information from Thomas Larkins, Commander of the ship *Lioness* belonging to the said East India Company that he the said Thomas Larkins had been applied to by one of the Members of Council, meaning by the word Council the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, and Colonel James Stuart to carry him the said George Lord Pigot to England, and that he the said Thomas Larkins had been threatened by the Person aforesaid that in case he, the said Thomas Larkins did refuse to take him the said George Lord Pigot on board the said ship *Lioness* as a Prisoner and to transport him the said George Lord Pigot to England as aforesaid, he the said Thomas Larkins should be deprived of the Command of the Company's said ship *Lioness*, And that the said George Lord Pigot was then and there under great anxiety and apprehension on account of the said Intention of transporting him the said George Lord Pigot to England and the anxiety and apprehension under which the said George Lord Pigot then and there laboured had a visible and apparent effect on the spirits and behaviour of the said George Lord Pigot, And that the said apprehension in the said George Lord Pigot of being transported to Europe was never entirely removed from the Mind of the said George Lord Pigot And that the said George Lord Pigot did frequently declare that he the said George Lord Pigot would not be forcibly removed from the said Saint Thomas's Mount whilst he had life, And that the said George Lord Pigot was by means of the Restraint, Confinement and Imprisonment aforesaid deprived of a great part of that exercise which before the said Confinement he the said George Lord Pigot usually took, and also of those occupations and employments to which he the said George Lord Pigot, before his said confinement was accustomed, And that the said Confinement of George Lord Pigot together with all the Circumstances of the said Confinement did so operate on the Mind and Body of the said George Lord Pigot, as to occasion a disease in the Liver of the said George Lord Pigot the Consequence of which disease in the Liver of the said George Lord Pigot was a putrid bilious fever and flux, the symptoms of which fever and flux on the Body of the said George Lord Pigot were first apparent about the eight of March in the said year. And that the said George Lord Pigot being of a good Constitution did in some degree recover from the said putrid bilious fever and flux towards the latter end of the said Month of March, but the said disease in the Liver of the said George Lord Pigot still subsisting, and the said George Liver of the said George Lord Pigot still subsisting, and the said George Lord Pigot still remaining a Prisoner under the said Confinement did about the beginning of April in the said Year suffer a Relapse, and did again labour under a putrid bilious fever and Flux as before from which time, to wit from the beginning of April aforesaid to the twenty eighth of the said Month the said George Lord Pigot did languish and languishing did live a Prisoner in the said Confinement at Saint Thomas' Mount aforesaid.

That the said Major Mathews Horne with the consent of the said George Lord Pigot and by the advice of Gilbert Pasley the surgeon who attended the said George Lord Pigot during his the said George Lord Pigot's said disease, did cause the said George Lord Pigot to be removed from his the said Major Mathew Horne's House at Saint Thomas's Mount aforesaid, to the said Company's Garden House the said twenty eighth of April for the benefit of the Sea Air, That on the Road between the said Saint Thomas's Mount and the said Garden House, the said George Lord Pigot was not confined or restrained by any Military Guard as he the said George Lord Pigot before, to wit from the twenty fourth of August in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our said Lord the King to the said twenty eighth of April had constantly been confined and restrained. And that on the said Twenty eight day of April the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay did give orders to the said Major Mathew Hornes still to take charge of the Person of the said George Lord Pigot and him the said George Lord Pigot to imprison, confine and restrain at the said Company's Garden House as he the said George Lord Pigot had been confined and restrained and kept a prisoner at St. Thomas's Mount aforesaid, And that they the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay did put under the Command of the said Major Mathew Horne certain Seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown and a serjeant to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown to be a guard over the said George Lord Pigot for the purpose of confining and restraining the said George Lord Pigot at the Garden House aforesaid, And that on the said twenty eighth of April, and before the said orders relative to the confining and restraining the said George Lord Pigot at the said Garden House were given to the said Major Mathew Horne, by the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, and George Mackay, Gilbert Pasley the surgeon who attended the said George Lord Pigot during his the said George Lord Pigot's said illness, did represent to the said George Stratton, then about to consult with the said Henry Brooke, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan and George Mackay, touching the placing of Guard for the purpose of confining and restraining the said George Lord Pigot at the said Garden House that if it should come to the knowledge of the said George Lord Pigot that a guard was placed at the said Garden House for the purpose before mentioned it would irritate the disease under which the said George Lord Pigot then and there laboured, That the said George Lord Pigot from the said twenty eighth of April until the said eleventh May did languish, and languishing did live on which eleventh day of May in the year aforesaid, in the Garden House aforesaid within the districts of Madraspatnam aforesaid, under the confinement and restraint aforesaid of the said disease produced and occasioned as aforesaid he the said George Lord Pigot did die, and so the Jurors aforesaid on their oaths aforesaid say, that the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght and Mathew Horne, the said George Lord Pigot, in manner and by the means aforesaid feloniously,

voluntarily, and of their Malice forethought did kill and Murder, against the Peace of our said Lord the King his Crown and Dignity,—and the Jurors aforesaid on their Oaths aforesaid say that the said first mentioned Serjeant to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown the said first mentioned seapoys to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown and the said officers and soldiers belonging to the Corps of Artillery to the said Jurors as yet unknown also another serjeant and other seapoys stationed at the said Garden House to the Jurors aforesaid as yet unknown, were at diverse times present aiding, abetting, assisting and maintaining the said George Stratton, Sir Robert Fletcher, Henry Brooke Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght and Mathew Horne to do, and commit the Felony and Murder aforesaid against the Peace of our said Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

IN WITNESS whereof as with the aforesaid Coroner as the Jurors aforesaid have to this Inquisition put their Hands and seals the seventh day of August in the seventeenth year of the Reign of our said Lord the King, and in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and seventy seven.

(Signed) George Smith.
 Andrew Ross.
 George Baker.
 Thomas Powney.
 Thomas Pilling.
 John Defries.
 Robert Ewin.
 George Tuswell.
 Alexander Cuthbert.

(Signed) G. Ram,
 Coroner.
 Robert Farguhan.
 William Panom.
 John Ferring.

TOWN OF MADRASPATNAM. (3)

At the Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery of our Sovereign Lord the King holden for the Town of Madraspatnam at the Hall of the said Town on Wednesday the Twenty fourth day of this Instant September in the Seventeenth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George now King of Great Britain, &c. BEFORE JOHN WHITEHILL, ANTHONY SADLER, QUINLIN CRAWFURD Esquires and others their Sociates appointed Justices of our Sovereign Lord the King of Oyer and Terminer and Goal delivery within the Town aforesaid, On which Day the Sessions were by the said Justices adjourned over unto Tuesday the 30th day of this Instant September to be held at the Town Hall of the said Town at Eight O'Clock in the forenoon of the same Day to do further as the Court shall then and there consider of

TOWN OF MADRASPATNAM. Ss.

The Jurors of our Lord
Present that George

King
Henry Brooke Charles
Jourdan and George Mackay

of Madraspatnam aforesaid Esquires in the Civil Service of the English East India Company at Madrapatnam aforesaid James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght and Matthew Horne all of the same Esquires in the Military Service of the said English East India Company at Madraspatnam aforesaid not having the Fear of God before their Eyes but being moved and seduced by the Instigation of the Devil on the Twenty fourth Day of August which was in the sixteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third King of Great Britain, &ca. with Force and Arms that is to say with Pistols, swords and other Weapons on the Highway commonly called the Island within the Districts of the Said Town of Madraspatnam in and upon George Lord Pigot Baron Pigot of Patsul in the Kingdom of Ireland a True and Faithful subject of our said Lord the King in the Peace of God of Our said Lord the King then and there being Feloniously Wilfully and of their malice aforethought did make an assault and Him the said George Lord Pigot did then and there Feloniously and Wilfully and of their malice aforethought seize and make a Prisoner and him the said George Lord Pigot did Feloniously, wilfully and of their malice aforethought keep and detain in Prison and Confinement whereof and whereby he the said George Lord Pigot languished and languishing lived until the Eleventh day of May in the Year aforesaid and then Dyed, under the Restraint and Confinement aforesaid and so the Jurors aforesaid on their oath aforesaid do say and Present that the said George Stratton, Henry Brooke, Charles Floyer, Archdale Palmer, Francis Jourdan, George Mackay, James Stuart, James Eidingtoun, Arthur Lysaght, and Matthew Horne in manner and form aforesaid Feloniously Wilfully and of their malice aforethought the said George Lord Pigot kill and murder against the Peace of our Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and Dignity.

TO THE JUDGES, (4)

Having this Instant received a letter from the Acting President and Councils to Ft. St. George upon a subject which they represent of great Importance to them, we take the Liberty to submit it with its Enclosures to you with the request that you will be pleased to furnish us with such opinions upon the questions referred to as therein, as you may think it proper to declare.

As these are official papers and We have not copies of them, We request that you will return them to us.

We have the honour to be,

FORT WM.,
The 24th Octr.

HON'BLE SIR & SIRS, (5)

On a former occasion we held ourselves obliged to decline giving full and explicit answers to some Questions proposed to Us by your Hon'ble Board at the Desire of the Gentlemen then in Possession of the Government at Madras, because our Determination must have included a Declaration of the Lawfulness or Illegality of the late Revolution at that Presidency; which might have produced fresh Disturbance. But as we think that our opinion on the Questions now stated by the President and Council of Fort St. George in their Letter of the 3rd of this Month which you have communicated to Us, cannot be productive of Mischief and may tend to quiet the Minds of Men and to prevent any further proceedings in a Prosecution which appears to Us to be irregular, we shall answer each of these Questions without Reserve.

1 and 2 To the first and second Queries one Answer will suffice. It does not appear to us that there is any such officer as a legal Coroner at Madras. If the President and Council have a Right to appoint an Officer who can lawfully exercise the several Powers belonging to a Coroner in England, they must derive it from some Act of Parliament or from some Charter; but no Act or Charter which we have seen confers any such Right. It may be proper and convenient, in a settlement when there is no legal Coroner, that some of the principal Inhabitants should inspect the body of any one suddenly deceased, and that a Person appointed by the Chief Magistrate of the Place should assemble a proper Number of Inhabitants for that Purpose; but though in such a Case their Evidence at a future Trial may possibly be important, any Inquest that they shall presume to make on Oath will be absolutely void, and the Arraignment of a Culprit thereon utterly unlawful. Inquisitions taken before Coroners may be quashed or set aside either for formal Defects or material Irregularities, and unless there be some Authority for the appointment of a Coroner at Madras with which We are unacquainted, the Inquisition now laid before Us must be rejected as wholly null and void.

4th.—Whether a Man charged with the Death of another shall be indicted for Murder or for Manslaughter, as a Principal or as an accessory it is the Office of the Grand Jury to determine on consideration of the Facts proved before them. We can only give an Opinion on such Facts as are stated in Mr. Ram's Inquisition, from the Perusal of Which We cannot collect Materials sufficient for an Indictment either of Murder or of Manslaughter. Unlawful Imprisonment accompanied with such severities as apparently endanger the Life of the Prisoner may if Death ensues thereupon amount to criminal Homicide; but when the Mode of Restraint was not rigorous, nor the Plan unwholesome, he who has unlawfully abridged the Liberty of another will not be answerable for his Death, merely because the disease of which he died proceeded from Anxiety and Depression of spirits, the natural consequence of injurious Confinement.

5th.—In Criminal matters the Informations of Persons beyond the seas cannot be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury; unless perhaps in certain cases

attended with particular circumstances which are not stated or supposed in the present Instance.

6th.—The Gentlemen who attended Mr. Ram under the Denomination of Jurors may give Evidence both to the Grand and Petit Jury of what they themselves saw or know, but not of what was related to them, either with or without Oath, by others.

7th.—To the Validity of a Coroner's Inquest is necessary that the Major Parts of the Jurors agree in the Verdict, and that such Majority consist of at least twelve, so that if no more than twelve are sworn on the Jury they must be unanimous.

8th.—The Inquest being set aside, as we have supposed it must be, We do not apprehend that the Grand Jury can have a Right to demand from Mr. Ram or the Gentlemen who attended him, any of their Papers or Proceedings.

9th.—We are of opinion that the Examinations mentioned in the 9th Question cannot be read as Evidence to the Petit Jury at the Trial, both because Mr. Ram appears Us to be no Coroner and because the Depositions of absent Persons cannot be read in Evidence in a Criminal Suit, unless for special Reasons which do not appear to exist in the present case.

10th.—We apprehend that a Grand Jurymen though not liable to be peremptorily and arbitrarily challenged, may however be challenged for certain Causes by a Prisoner under Prosecution. We do not think it necessary to enter into a particular Examination of each of those Causes, but will here transcribe a short Passage from Hawkins's Pleas of the Crown, which with the References that will be found in the Margin of the Book, under that Passage, may serve to direct in his Investigation of this subject, the Barrister by whom the President and Council of Fort St. George are at present assisted. "It seems" (says Hawkins) "That any one who is under a Prosecution for any Crime whatsoever, may, by the Common Law, before he is indicted, challenge any of the Persons returned on the Grand Jury, as being *outlawed* for Felony, etc., or *Villeins*, or returned at the Instance of a Prosecutor, or not returned by the proper Officers, etc."—2 Hawk. 215.

We herewith return (as desired) the several official Papers that accompanied your letter of the 24th Instant, and request that you will be pleased to communicate with all convenient speed, to the President and Council of Fort Saint George our Answers to their several questions.

The business of the Term and the indisposition of two of the Judges have been the occasion of your not receiving this sooner.

We have the Honour to be,
Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,
Your most obedient and
most humble Servants.

(Sd.) E. IMPEY.

(Sd.) ROBT. CHAMBERS.

(Sd.) S. C. LEMAIRRE.

(Sd.) JOHN HYDE.

FORT WILLIAM,
31 October 1777.

TO FORT ST. GEORGE, (6)
GENTN.,

On receipt of your letter dated the 3rd instant we made an immediate communication of it to the Chief Justice & Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature whose replies to the several questions proposed to them you will receive in the enclosed copy of their letter addressed to us on the occasion.

We are &c.

FORT WILLIAM,
1 Novr. 1777.

Notes on the Early History of the English Factory at Dacca.

FEW cities in Bengal can claim, like Dacca, such a romantic past, such a glorious present, as the centre of the educational activities of our own time in Eastern Bengal, with every reason to look forward to a promising future. Although Dacca, to-day, is not even the shadow of her former self, her name conjures up a picture of the magnificence, the grandeur, the splendour of a great Eastern capital of bygone days. Her fine gossamer-like fabrics were known and prized throughout the civilized globe, before the birth of Christ. This is a heritage of which any city in the world may well be proud. Even in later times her history is crowded with thrilling episodes forming a regular panorama of events brimming with human interest.

2. The English East India Company's commerce in Dacca commenced in the latter half of the 17th century during the rule of Nawab Shaista Khan, perhaps the greatest Mughal Viceroy who ever wielded the sceptre of office in Bengal. He ruled from 1664 to 1677 and again from 1679 to 1689. It was during his regime that the Company's first Factory at Dacca was established in the year 1666. From the Factory records of this period it transpires that Dacca was at this period "a noted seat for calicoes". According to the famous French traveller Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who visited Dacca in the beginning of 1666, the English Factory "was fairly good but not made of brick". (1) Tavernier also found that "Thomas Pratt was acting as the Chief of the Dacca Factory". (2) This Factory was at first a very modest commercial outstation; but thanks to the energy of F. Nedham and Harvey, two well-known officers of the Company, it was converted into a brick-built house in 1676 with the sanction of Nawab Shaista Khan.

3. The English now started a very profitable trade in Dacca fabrics. In the course of a few years after the establishment of the *pucca* Factory, "the sales of Dacca goods, principally muslins, for which the city had long been famous turned out so profitable that the Court of Directors raised the stock of the Company from £85,000 to £100,000. Through the busy mart of Surat, the Dacca Factors carried on a great trade in cloth, and although chanks and tortoise-shells were taken in exchange, the balance of trade lay so greatly in her favour that it was necessary to import specie direct which accounts for the appearance of Arcot rupees in Eastern Bengal." It is on record that the Dacca Factors used to send presents, occasionally to the Nawab in order to keep him in good humour. We

(1) Factory Records, 1665-7.

(2) *Ibid.*

know for certain that in the year 1678 they presented the Nawab with an Arab horse.

4. Encouraged by the commercial success of the Dacca Factory, the Court of Directors decided to set their various factories in Bengal upon an independent footing, and also to check the extensive private trade of the outsiders known as "the interlopers". For this purpose they appointed William Hedges on November 14, 1681, with special powers, to be their Governor and Superintendent of the English Factories in the Bay of Bengal with the title of "Agent of the Bay".

5. In the year 1688 an untoward incident happened at the Factory at Dacca. The then Mughal Viceroy of Bengal, Bahadur Khan, under the orders of the Emperor Aurangzeb, wantonly attacked all the Company's servants at Dacca and Messrs. Eyre and Braddyll, two members of the Board who had gone to Dacca to negotiate for peace, were cast into prison. Relief however came with the arrival of the next Viceroy, Ibrahim Khan II, in 1689, who "reinstated them in their possessions and obtained for them from Aurangzeb in 1691 full authority to trade free of all dues and charges in return for an annual payment of Rs. 3,000". During this tumultuous period the Company are said to have suffered a loss of Rs. 40,000 at Dacca. The Dacca Factory was again closed between 1696 and 1699, but matters gradually improved, and in 1724, a new Factory was founded at Dacca by Mr. Stark. For the following 24 years the history of this new Factory has nothing unusual to record. But the year 1748 proved very unpromising for the Factory. We find from the records of 1748-9 (3) that a large force of Mahrattas approached Dacca from the Sunderbunds and came right up to Sundra Khal (4). They attacked the East India Company's Cossimbazar fleet and plundered the goods of the Dacca Factory then in the charge of Ensign English. For his failure to defend the Factory Ensign English was subsequently imprisoned, tried by Court Martial and dismissed. Again we find from the letter (5) of the Manager of the Dacca Factory, that in this year, Dacca suffered greatly from the depredations of *Mugh* robbers. The business of the Dacca Factory came almost to a stand-still and the Dacca and Judgea (6) Factors suffered considerably for want of food. The situation became so acute that they wrote in despair thus: "It is a great favour that we can procure common subsistence". To add to the gravity of the situation, the Dacca Factors somehow or other incurred the displeasure of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan in the following year (1749) when even the "common subsistence" which they were getting after the raid of *Mugh* robbers ceased. The following extract from the letter of the Chief and the Council of the Dacca Factory to the Board dated the 16th January, 1749 speaks about the serious situation created in the Factory:—"We have

(3) Pub. Dept. Cons., March 1748.

(4) The position of Sundra Khal is not given in Rennell's Atlas. But it appears to be one of the creeks with which the Sunderbunds abound.

(5) Despatch to the Court of Directors dated Fort William, Jan. 27, 1749.

(6) The position of Judgea in the Noakhally District is given in Rennell's Atlas. It was situated to the north of the Islands of Hatia and Sundeep.

received information of the Durbars, (Mughal) not only having taken *Mutchulkas* from all the tradesmen and *poddars* not to have any transactions with us, but from *Moodis* not to supply us with necessaries and provisions." This complete stoppage of the necessaries of life led to a mutiny amongst the soldiers and peons of the Dacca Factory. The Chief and the Council then sent this message to the Nawab's (Ali Verdi Khan's) officers:—"If provisions were stopped we must get them whenever we could, for it was better to die fighting than starving". It appears that this message had a salutary effect on the Mughal Durbar, for on its receipt "a small allowance was suffered to be brought in" for the Dacca Factors. We learn from the General letter of the Board to the Court of Directors dated the 27th January 1749, that the Company proposed to regain the goodwill of Nawab Ali Verdi Khan by presenting an Arab horse to him.

6. No event of any importance happened between the years 1750 and 1753, except that during this period some new appointments were made in the Factory and that at the instance of the Factors there was a proposal to remove the Jugdea Factory to Ramnathkhally (7). We find from the Despatch of the Board to the Court of Directors dated Fort William 13 January, 1750, that in this year P. Amyatt was appointed Sub-Treasurer, W. McGwire, Military Paymaster and L. Scrafton, Assistant at the Dacca Factory. Scrafton became a Councillor at Dacca in 1751. It appears from the Minutes of Consultation dated Fort William, 21 December 1752, that W. B. Sumner was appointed a Member of the Council at the Factory in 1752. We gather from the Minutes dated 27 November 1752 that the then famous Jagat Seth, Mahtab Rai, used to have monetary transactions with the Dacca Factory at about this period.

7. The documents of 1754 to 1757 record some very sensational reports regarding the Dacca Factory. We learn from the Despatch to the Court of Directors dated 1 March, 1754, that Raja Rajballabh (8) on

(7) Ramnathkhali was also known as "Ramanandakhali". It was situated in the Noakhally District, east of the Meghna river and its position is given in Rennell's Atlas.

(8) Raja Rajballabh, "Nawab" of Dacca, was the son of Raja Durlabh Ram, the East India Company's Dewan in the *Khalsa* Department. From his infancy Rajballabh learned *Khalsa* work under his father and was repeatedly "confirmed" by the East India Company to fill the post of '*Roy Royan*' both on account of his "supposed" personal knowledge of revenue affairs, as well as on the score of his father's services to the Company. In a letter which Raja Nandakumar addressed to the Board (which was delivered to Phillip Francis on the morning of the 11th March 1775 when he brought before the Council some grave charges against Warren Hastings) Nandakumar severely attacked Warren Hastings for granting Rajballabh a princely salary of Five Thousand Rupees a month *plus* the revenue of the District of '*Dewan Gunge*'. The following extract from his letter will speak for itself:—"The sum of 25,000 rupees is the stated annual salary of the *Mutsuddee* of the *Khalsa Sharif* to be paid in ready money and by *Jughne*. Why Raja Rajballabh enjoys a salary of 5,000 rupees a month, exclusive of District of Dewan Gunge, the produce of which is very considerable and how the Company's interest was in this consulted remains with Mr. Hastings to explain". We find that inspite of the protest of Warren Hastings, Raja Rajballabh was dismissed from the post of the '*Roy Royan*' according to the Resolution of the majority of the Board dated Fort William the 18th October 1775. According to them the appointment of Raja Rajballabh was a "direct disobedience of the orders of the Court of Directors as contained in their General Letter dated the 28th August 1771."

becoming the "Nawab" of Dacca peremptorily demanded the usual visit from the Dacca Factors. The Board at first instructed the Dacca Factors not to pay the customary visit to him; but later on the Factors thought it prudent to compound with him for a sum of Rs. 4,300. In the year 1755 the Dacca Factors being again apprehensive that their trade might be interfered with and their goods stopped by the order of Rajballabh wrote a letter to the Board for their protection, (9) and it was decided by the Board "to despatch Lieut. John Harding of a command of soldiers, 25 *Buxaries*, (10) in order to clear some boats if stopped on their way to Dacca and to take them under his protection". In the same year (11) the Dacca and Jugdea Factors were subjected to insults from the Mughal Governments of those places which issued public orders to the effect "that no person there shall serve the Dacca Factory" and actually seized those who offered to serve it. To make things worse, next year Jasarat Khan, *Naib* of Dacca, under the orders of Siraj-ud-Daula, seized the Dacca Factory and imprisoned the Factors. The Factory was not restored to the Company until the following year (1757). We find from the Public Department records that "in the year 1761 Nawab Qasim Ali Khan asked from the East India Company's Dacca Factory the supply of some rich cloth".

8. The Dacca Factory, was not, however, destined to enjoy peace for long for in October 1762 the Factors heard disquieting rumours which form the subject matter of the following Minute:—"The various rumours that prevail in the country and the general insolence of the natives with the interruption put upon trade in general giving us reason to suspect that we shall be engaged in troubles when the season shall permit of carrying on operation in the field, it has been agreed to put the Dacca Factory in state of defence and get Sepoys from Chittagong". The troubles which the Dacca Factors anticipated came in July 1763.

9. In 1763 the Dacca Factory was captured by a body of *Samyasis* or *Faqirs*. Mr. Leycester, the Chief of the Dacca Factory, abandoned it and he justified his action in the following words:—"Regarding the retreat and loss of treasure he (Leycester) knows not how it could have been avoided, nor what precautions could have been taken, that were not, to prevent the misfortune. The gentlemen of the Factory were fully sensible of the importance of saving their treasure and tried every possible method as they did for retreating in a regular manner". (12) This abandonment of the Dacca Factory on the part of its Chief, Leycester, received the disapproval that it merited, was called a cowardly act by the authorities and drew a diatribe from Clive in the shape of a Minute (13) dated 29 January 1766:—"Mr. Leycester's behaviour at Dacca," says Clive "when he aban-

(9) Pub. Dept. Progs. Vol. 1755 pp. 103-4. (Minutes of Cons. dated Fort William, 12 Feb. 1755).

(10) The *Buxaries* were 'matchlockmen' who were employed on duties similar to those performed by *Barkandazes* of a later period.

(11) Pub. Dept. Minutes of Cons. dated Fort William, 5 May, 1755.

(12) Pub. O. C. 16 Feb. 1764, no. 1 (a).

(13) " " 29 Jan. 1766, no. 2 (a).

doned the Factory which commanded a very considerable proportion of the Company's treasure and merchandise would in all probability have lost him the service, if General Carnac had not prevailed upon Mr. Vansittart to let him soften the paragraph written upon that subject in the General Letter ". The Dacca Factory was, however, subsequently retaken by the English and the *Faqirs* who were thus captured were employed as *coolies* in repairing the Factory (14).

10. Although about the year 1762 Qasim Ali Khan warned the *Foujdars*, and other officers, not to interfere with the trade of the English *gumashtas*, *dalals*, or otherwise maltreat them (15), we find from a letter (16) written by the Dacca Factors to the Board dated 27th January, 1763, that Muhammad Ali, the Collector of the said Nawab, wrongfully usurped the properties of one Neholl, a *dalal*, of the company after his death and "put peons on his house". To protect their deceased *dalal's* house, the Factors sent "some *sepoys* for the security of the house." The Board also warned Muhammad Ali to desist from such wanton acts in future. It was in this connection that Mr. Cartier, the Chief of the Dacca Factory, wrote a letter of warning to Muhammad Ali (17), which being translated, runs as follows:—

" To
Muhammad Aly,

Sir,

The strange and violent proceedings of the different *Sickdars*, (18) Zemindars and Chowkeydars in the district of Dacca in stopping the English Trade, plundering their *gumashtas* and servants, and affronting their colours, oblige me, as Chief of the Company's affairs at Dacca, to apply to you for satisfaction for these insults, and to demand a reason for such an extraordinary conduct. I can scarcely believe, Sir, that these actions can be the result of your orders and much less Cossim Aly Khan's; but as you cannot be ignorant of the secret springs of them, I require of you a positive explanation concerning this matter. You must be sensible of the danger, an invasion of the privileges granted to the English must be attended with, and the resentment we have it in our power to show, and have shewn in instances of the like nature. I choose to communicate my sentiments by letter, well knowing the many mistakes that happen in sending and answering messages the *sense of them* very often being perverted".

11. I have given instances of the oppression practised on the Dacca Factory from time to time, but I do not wish any one to run away with the

(14) „ Progs. 5 Dec. 1763.

(15) „ „ 1763 pp. 126-7.

(16) „ „ 3 Feb. 1763.

(17) „ „ 17 Jan. 1763.

(18) The *Sickdars* were according to Wilson "Revenue officers or collectors appointed either by the Government or a Zamindar to collect the revenue from a small tract of country or from an estate. Under the Mughal Government it was sometimes applied to the Chief Financial Officer of a province or to the Viceroy in his financial capacity."

idea that the servants of the Factory were models of goodness and wholly free from blame. It appears from the letter (19) of Mahammad Ali, Collector of the Nawab Qasim Ali, to the Board that about the year 1763 "various forms of oppression and abuse of power" were practised by the *gumashtas* of the Dacca Factory on the subjects of the Nawab. We find on the authority of Warren Hastings (20) that about this period the Dacca Factors "sent a party of sepoys to Sylhet, on account of some private dispute, who fired upon and killed one of the principal people of the place and afterwards made the Zamindar prisoner and carried him away". To defend their action, the Factors wrote that "as their boats were being stopped and their trade and privileges interfered with by Nawab's (Mir Qasim's) agents, they ordered up *Sepahis* from Chittagong". The Board rejected this explanation and remarked: "It seems very probable from circumstances in Mr. Hasting's Minute that the *gumashtas* of the Dacca Factory have been the Chief causes of these disturbance; there is reason to fear that *gumashtas* and Agents have made use of very unwarrantable practices in their trade". The result was that the "Board consequently countermanded the marching of the *sepoys* sent by the Dacca Factory". The excesses of the servants of the Dacca Factory became at about this period intolerable to a degree, and Governor Vansittart had to draw the attention of the Court of Directors to this state of affairs. The following impassioned extract from Vansittart's note embodied in the Home (Pub.) Dept Progs. dated 1 February, 1763, will speak for itself:—

"Can that plan be solid where nothing is fixed and where the English *gumashtas* shall be under no control, but regarding themselves far above the Magistrate of the Country where they reside, take upon themselves to decide, not only their own disputes with the merchants and inhabitants, but those also of one merchant and inhabitant with another, or is it possible that Government can collect their due revenue in such circumstances."

12. Warren Hastings' exposure of the Sylhet affair was greatly resented by the Dacca Factors who decided to retaliate by showing him up. Every student of history knows that the East India Company's servants in Bengal during the middle of the 18th Century were given to indiscriminate "private trade" for their own personal profit. Warren Hastings was no exception to this rule. In the year 1763 the Dacca Council complained to the Board to the effect that the "Agents of Hastings" were making illegitimate use of the *Sipahis* to further the private interests of their master. The defence of Hastings is embodied in a lengthy document which need not be reproduced here. The Dacca Factors who tried to malign Warren Hastings for his connection with "private trade", were, it appears from the records, themselves guilty of the same offence. The following extract from Governor Vansittart's letter to Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts (21) dated Monghyr, 15 December 1762, will throw some light on the subject:—

(19) Pub. I. O. Vol. 1762-4, pp. 33-4.

(20) Pub. Dept. Progs. Oct. 14, 1762; (see also I. O. Cons. 1762, pp. 143-5).

(21) Messrs. Johnstone, Hay and Bolts served the Company in the 18th Century in various capacities.

'I am very certain that many English agents and *gumashtas* and particularly those belonging to the Dacca gentlemen have practised a method of carrying on business called in this country *baria* (22) and *Kichaunt*, that is forcing the merchants and shopkeepers to take their goods at 30, 40 or 50 per cent. above the market price. The complaints I had of this and other oppressions practised by Mr. Chevalier and *gumashtas* employed under his direction were without number; when I desired Mr. Cartier (23) to redress those grievances, I was sure to receive from him in answer to a letter from Chevalier (24) denying all the facts, and so the enquiry stopped, but the complaints were received with fresh instances''.

13. During the years 1763 and 1764 Dacca was subjected to *dacoities* of a serious character. (25) It is interesting to note that on hearing that a number of *dacoits* had appeared before this city in 1764 and pillaged the properties of Mr. Ross, the then Nawab of Bengal "ordered Muhammad Reza Khan to recover his losses and directed him to call upon the assistance of the Dacca Factory for some *sepoys* to go in armed boats and endeavour to discover and root out the dacoits". It appears from the papers that "Mr. Ross had in cash on Board 5,800 rupees, moreovre, a silver tea pot and coffee pot, a silver rose water bottle valued at 80 rupees, 1 shaving box 30 rupees, 4 slaves 240 rupees, etc., the whole of his property was estimated at 13,000 rupees". It appears from the above inventory of the effects of Mr. Ross that the practice of keeping slaves was prevalent among the English in Bengal in those days.

14. Such was the East India Company's Dacca Factory from its founcaution up to the year 1764, during the *regime* of the Mughal Viceroys of Bengal. In the year 1765, the *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa passed into the hands of the Company and English influence became predominant in Bengal. Najm-ud-Daulah was still the reigning Nawab of Bengal, but his 'Court' was shorn of all its glory and he himself was nothing more than the puppet of a Mughal Viceroy—a mere shadow of the magnificence and grandeur of the proconsuls of Delhi. As a result of the transfer of the *Dewani*, Lieut. Swinton took over charge of the revenue of Dacca in 1765. Thenceforward the history of the Company's Dacca Factory is more or less of modern interest and outside the scope of this paper.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

(22) "*Baria*" according to Wilson means "forcing people to purchase goods at more than market price." "*Kichaunt*" was a synonymous term.

(23) John Cartier was the Chief of Dacca Factory about 1763. He acted as Governor of Bengal from 1769 to 1772.

(24) Mons J. Chevalier was the Chief of the French Factory at Dacca. He was afterwards Governor of Chandernagore.

(25) Pub. Dept. Progs. Feb. 21, 1763;

" " " Nov. 19, 1764.

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
VOL. XXXII.



(Painted by Plimer, 1788. Engraved by Cudou.)
Now in the collection of the Victoria Memorial Hall

Memories of the Supreme Court: 1774-1862.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

IN the recently published fourth volume of his Memoirs, William Hickey supplies details regarding his contemporaries at the Calcutta Bar which are, as far as I am aware, not available from any other source, and were certainly not known to me when I compiled the "Memories of the Supreme Court" which were published at the close of last year in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, pp. 150-198). I have collated these references, which are scattered throughout the book, and now present them as additions to, and corrections of, my article.

Sir John Day, the first Advocate-General of Bengal, who arrived at Fort Saint George on February 8, 1778, but did not reach Calcutta until a year later, married on February 15, 1777 "Miss Ramus of St. James's Palace," being then an advocate of the Middle Temple. Day is not, as I imagined, the person "formerly in India", who is mentioned in the Farington Diary (October 14, 1802) as one of the Prince of Wales's "Established Companions" at Brighton. This was Matthew Day, a Bengal civil servant "of convivial celebrity" who had held a lucrative post at Dacca, and went to Europe in discreditable circumstances with his friend Sir John Shore in the *Britannia* in August, 1798. He had, says Hickey (p. 199) "acquired a large fortune, according to public fame not by means strictly consonant either to honour or honesty, but very much to the contrary, and was so apprehensive of being attacked through the dire medium of the law by some of the many natives he had plundered as to induce him to keep his intention of leaving India a profound secret." He therefore gave out that his object in proceeding to the Presidency was to take leave of Sir John Shore: and having thus put his creditors off his track, he went on board the *Britannia* and remained there until the vessel put out to sea. His servants, who were left behind at Chaund Paul Ghaut with his pinnace and baggage boats, were then informed by his agent that he had sailed for America. He had, however, accompanied Shore to England and "soon after his arrival, became a crony of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to whom it was supposed he had lent money, people being at a loss otherwise to account for an intimacy subsisting between such a man as Mr. Matthew Day and the Heir Apparent." As regards Sir John Day, it remains to add that a coloured miniature portrait has been presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, C.I.E., the Agent to the Governor-General for the Madras States.

Interesting glimpses are afforded of the career of several of the early advocates. Stephen Cassan (November 12, 1782) filled the office of Sheriff in 1786. He was, says Hickey (pp. 3-4) an Irishman of good connections who had been William Dunkin's chum in housekeeping prior to his departure for Europe in January, 1789. "Contrary to the advice of all his

friends," he married Sarah Mears the daughter of a sea-captain who was wrecked in the *Brilliant* on her voyage out in 1782 and then commanded the *Egmont* Indiaman. She was "a strange, rattling, wild creature, profuse and extravagant in the greatest degree". Her extravagance was such that her husband "became so deeply involved in debt as to make a change of residence necessary." He therefore suddenly embarked for Bombay with a view to practice there as an advocate in the Mayor's Court, and was meeting "with all the success he could expect or hope for," when he was attacked by violent hemorrhage and died in 1794. His wife and son were left without provision and a fund, to which Hickey contributed, was raised for their relief.

An unpleasant picture is drawn of Charles Johnstone (October 22, 1783) who was a passenger on the *Brilliant* when she was wrecked off the island of Johanna. "A cynical disagreeable man", he was usually known as "Chrysal Johnston", as being the reputed author of a "famous novel" called "Chrysal or the Adventures of a Guinea": but Hickey never could consider him "competent to the execution of a work of so much ingenuity." He had been a contemporary student of Sir William Dunkin at the temple: and had come out to Bengal after running through a small estate which he had inherited from his father. Hickey says that he was ignorant, arrogant, and vain: and that he was called "Lying Charley" on account of his want of truthfulness. An amazing instance is related (p. 47) of his rudeness to Francis Macnaghten at a dinner party given by Sir William Dunkin.

Edward Maxwell (March 1, 1784) is mentioned (p. 103) as having embarked "in mere skin and grief" in Philip Francis' ship, the *Fox*. In 1793 he was "fattening himself up at a pastry cook's shop near the Manse." Three years later (p. 150) we hear of "the cidevant vigilant magistrate of Calcutta living very much at his ease", and, apparently, still abroad.

William Simpson (July 12, 1787) was the company's junior counsel at the time of his death in 1790. He was, says Hickey, the eldest son of "a gentleman who had for many years prior to the troubles in America, filled the office of His Majesty's Attorney-General at Charles Town, South Carolina," and was remarkably fond of field sports. "Being out upon a hunting party at a place called Aneelpore, about fifteen miles from the Presidency", he was attacked by a leopard or "a small tiger", which sprang upon him while he was scouring the borders of a thick jungle. He was thrown from his horse but was speedily rescued by his friends and conveyed to the camp, and thence on the following morning to Calcutta. The slightness of the wound which was on the fleshy part of the thigh, a little above the knee, deceived Mr. Dick, the Surgeon: but mortification set in and the patient died. Hickey makes mention of two sisters of Simpson who were in Calcutta with him, "very agreeable woman in whose society I lived a good deal" (p. 2).

John Shaw (October 26, 1789) acted as one of the Executors of Thomas Henry Davies, the successor of Day as Advocate-General (p. 66). Hickey and he "chummed" together in 1791 in "a very large and commodious residence in Garden Reach, the last in that line, about seven miles

and a half from Calcutta, beautifully situated within a few yards of the river, affording us the advantage of water as well as land carriage." Shaw usually went down at night and slept there: Hickey preferred the week-ends. "This partnership concern proved a very expensive one", writes Hickey (p. 27) "upon settling accounts at the end of the term for which the premises were engaged my share of the charges amounted to no less a sum than seven thousand three hundred and odd Sicca rupees." Some years later (1796) Shaw fell into financial difficulties (p. 133.) He was "in the way of making a rapid fortune in his profession" when he embarked in "a speculation of vast magnitude, that of monopolizing the trade in spices to the East Coast." As this was a business prohibited by the Company, he was obliged to carry it on clandestinely and was thus exposed to fraud and robbery by the commanders of the ships which he employed. The capital was supplied by Nemychurn Mullick "one of the most opulent natives in Bengal and an uncommonly clever man." Success seemed assured when war broke out with the Dutch and the English fleet took possession of the Spice Islands. Shaw's cargoes were seized and after two years' litigation, he was reduced to bankruptcy and departed for Prince of Wales's Island (Penang). Later on he returned to India and wandered from place to place, being provided with funds by a few friends.

We now come to Sir John Richardson (October 22, 1790) of whom we were obliged in our previous article to say that his career remained a mystery. Hickey enables us to lift the veil. In recording the death in May, 1795, at the age of sixty of this "heavy-headed barrister" (p. 126), he tells us that he was the reputed compiler of the Persian dictionary published under his name, "though those who were conversant with the language asserted that the whole had been stolen from Meninski." He came to Bengal, as he gave out, under a verbal promise from the Court of Directors that he should succeed Davies in the situation of Advocate-General. The post was however given to Burroughs: and the Governor-General "understanding that Richardson's talents as a lawyer were not likely to procure him bread generously and unasked appointed him a Justice of the Peace to which a very hand-some salary was attached." Hickey disputes his right to the title and status of a baronet. "He assumed it some time after his arrival in India upon hearing of the death of his elder brother who commanded the *Pigot* Indiaman at the time of my first voyage and who undoubtedly had succeeded to a baronetage but who, it was equally certain, left two legitimate sons."

In February 1793 Hickey was made a commissioner of a lottery which was being drawn in Calcutta (p. 82). Richardson who was one of his colleagues was persuaded, along with Hickey, to take certain surplus tickets: and as none of these drew a number, each commissioner lost sicca Rs. 2,000 in consequence.

Never in my life did I part with money so ungraciously or with so much reluctance. Poor Sir John in his broad Scotch dialect exclaimed. "The de'il damn all your cursed Looteries. I had

put aside twa thousand rupees to purchase mysel 'a buggy and horse, but now I munna think of any such matter and must still submit to gang about upon my ain feet, for which the gude God confound the damned commeessioners.

Of Robert Morris who attempted unsuccessfully to obtain admission as an advocate in December 1791, Hickey supplies some additional details (pp. 59-65). Morris had made himself particularly conspicuous in England as "a violent patriot" in the days of Wilkies' popularity: and upon the establishment about the year 1768 of "the society formed to relieve and uphold their idol, calling themselves the 'Bill of Rights'" he acted for some time as secretary. He next distiguished himself by eloping with Miss Harford, an heiress, but was compelled by the Lord Chancellor, who pronounced the marriage null and void, to surrender the lady and restore her fortune. After leading a disreputable life for some years in London, he came out to Calcutta. Unfortunately, Sir William Dunkin had detected him in London in the act of cheating at cards: and resolutely opposed his admission as an advocate. He then found his way up-country and "made it a practice to visit the gaols of every town he stopped at, enquiring into the particulars of each prisoner's case and then assuring them that nine out every ten were illegally confined and would be justified in using forcible means to obtain their liberty."

Hickey (p. 65) gives the following example of his methods:—

In a letter from Patna to an acquaintance at Calcutta, Morris wrote that in the prison there he had found a native nearly related to one of the oldest and best families of Hindostan who many years before had murdered and, as was supposed, robbed an English gentleman who was travelling with considerable property in money and jewels about him. There being great reason to suspect the above person, who had the title of Rajah, was a party concerned, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, of which, however, he got notice and absconded. After living in secret for some time, he went to Lucknow where the Governor-General (Mr. Hastings) then happened to be, to whom he got introduced, and though the medium of the vizier, procured the said Governor-General's free pardon for the above-mentioned murder and robbery, but for which pardon he paid a large sum of money (as Morris plainly insinuated) to Mr. Hastings. Morris further stated that such pardon was written in the Persian language and had Mr. Hasting's seal affixed to it, and that there could not be the least doubt of its authenticity: that the Rajah had shown him this pardon, but would not suffer it to be taken out of his sight, though he made no scruple of letting him (Morris) make a copy thereof, and he actually had taken a true and faithful transcript. He adds: "What a precious *morceau* this pardon would be for the Right Honourable Edmund Burke to produce to the House." Happily for society, this dangerous and troublesome man was carried off by an attack of liver about eight months after he left Calcutta.

The tomb in the South Park Street cemetery which bears the inscription "Thomas Scott, born 1775, died 1821" is not that of the advocate of the same name (October 23, 1792) who was Master of the Supreme Court and keeper of the Records, and who wrote the inscription on the tomb of Mr. Justice Hyde. Hickey tells us (p. 260) that he resigned the office of Master in 1802, "having realized as much wealth as contented him", and returned to Europe, whereupon Edward Lloyd, Sir Henry Russell's clerk, was appointed Master and Hickey (who had previously been clerk to Sir William Dunkin from 1791 to 1798) succeeded to the office of clerk. "An Armenian whom I engaged for the purpose, did the whole duty and took special care never to omit entering in his daily book any business done before the Judge upon which I, as clerk, was entitled to a fee."

Hickey mentions incidentally that Edward Benjamin Lewin (November 17, 1792) to whom he acted as under-sheriff in 1803, died at Kew in January, 1830.

Among William Hickey's fellow-attorneys, we find mention of William Johnson who came out in the same ship with the Judges in 1774 and became clerk of the Crown. He was a son of Elizabeth Reynolds the sister of Sir Joshua; and his uncle, we read (p. 75) left him at his death his watch, chain, and seals, "a legacy many of the first characters in the kingdom would be proud of." Johnson however chose to consider himself ill-treated by having so paltry a memento left to him, and vented his anger by advertising for sale by public auction every picture his uncle had sent to him, including a very fine portrait of Sir Joshua himself. Happily, "before the day fixed for the sale arrived, Mr. Johnson so far came to his recollection as to feel the folly and indelicacy of his conduct and he countermanded his order: the auction was stopped, but the consequent stigma very deservedly remained." Johnson married the widow of Colonel Tolly of Tolly's Nullah. The Johnson collection of oriental paintings which are now at the India Office, was made by his brother Richard who was in the Civil Service.

Another attorney, Stackhouse Tolfrey, who had been a clerk of Hickey's and "having acquired an independent fortune" sailed for England with his wife in December 1787, settled down at Exeter, as we learn from a letter written by him to Hickey on April 7, 1791 (pp. 34, 36). He confesses that he very frequently looked back to India with regret and wondered at his "former insensibility to its many superior advantages". Hickey tells us that he did not long survive the writing of his letter and having spent the greater part of his fortune left his wife (the beautiful Gertrude Messinck) and his three children very slenderly provided for. "Like many other persons from India, he set out in a style far beyond his means, and had not fortitude enough to retrench in time." His widow "became so reduced as to be obliged to keep a school, and that in a neighbourhood where she had lived in the utmost splendour" (p. 37).

We learn from the same letter that upon the departure from India of George Wroughton, the Company's attorney who was nicknamed "Balance's footman", because he lived in Hyde's house, Benjamin Turner joined Hickey as his partner. Tolfrey writes: "I please myself with the idea that all

Wroughton's rich clients would upon that occasion become yours". The partnership continued until 1805. Turner paid sicca Rs. 10,000 and assigned to Hickey bills of costs amounting to sicca Rs. 5,000 or 6,000, due from Robert Samuel Perreau and his partner John Palling. But, says Hickey (p. 324) "this Perreau turned out a much greater thief and scoundrel than either his father or his uncle, both of whom were hanged at Tyburn in the year 1776 for forgery, by cheating every person he knew in Calcutta and then absconding to Bencoolen where he died insolvent."

In the arbitration proceedings between Hickey and Turner which preceded the dissolution of partnership, the latter nominated "Mr. Smith the then Advocate-General" and Ralph Uvedale (June 23, 1782), the prothonotary of the Supreme Court, and Hickey appointed Edward Lloyd who had come out to Bengal with Sir Henry Russell as his clerk. The number of attorneys on the roll was limited to twelve: but an exception was made in the case of judges' clerks and Lloyd was accordingly admitted.

Hickey gives the following account (p. 275) of "Bobus" Smith's appointment as Advocate-General. It affords curious evidence of the antagonism between the directors and their Governor-General.

In June, 1803, Mr. Robert Percy Smith arrived from England, having been appointed the Company's Advocate-General; Mr. Smith had also a Patent of precedence giving him rank above all the Barristers practising in the Supreme Court of Judicature. This appointment of Mr. Smith did away with that of Mr. Edward Strettell, whom Lord Wellesley had put into the situation of Advocate-General upon Mr. Burroughs's resignation thereof [in 1801]. It likewise deprived Mr. Macnaghten of the office of Company's Standing Counsel, which was resumed by Mr. Strettell. As Mr. Macnaghten had entertained some thoughts of leaving India, this loss of his place determined him to do so by the first opportunity.

Macnaghten, who had married a daughter of Sir William Dunkin, left for Europe, as a matter of fact, on board the *Charlton* in December 1803. He hoped in 1806 to receive the puisne judgeship, which became vacant by the promotion of Sir Henry Russell to the office of Chief Justice: but was fore-stalled by Burroughs who, says Hickey (p. 325) had lost a large proportion of his fortune by gambling and was therefore anxious to return to Bengal. He endeavoured to obtain the succession to Sir John Anstruther as Chief Justice but was obliged to be content with a puisne judgeship. Macnaghten's judgeship came to him in 1809 when he went to Madras and remained there until 1815 when he followed Burroughs at Fort William.

Hickey's dislike of Sir William Burroughs was intense and he exhibits it repeatedly. In a passage of his diary, which is not reprinted but of which we catch a glimpse in the notes appended by the editor to the present volume, he gives particulars of an attempt made by Macnaghten to get Burroughs disbarred while he was Advocate-General; and in another passage, which is also withheld, he supplies particulars of the association of James Taylor, an attorney "with no nice scruples or conscientious qualms" with Burroughs and Sir John Anstruther, "birds of the same feather."

The appointment of Anstruther in 1798 as Chief Justice led to the retirement of Sir William Dunkin from the Bench. Anstruther prevailed upon the Government to reduce the puisne judgeships from three to two, in order that the salary so saved might form a pension fund. The term of office was fixed at seven years, after which the Chief Justice was entitled to retire on a pension of £1,500 a year, and a puisne judge on a pension of £1,300. Advantage was taken of this new arrangement to make a clean sweep of the Bench at Calcutta. Anstruther became Chief Justice in the room of Sir Robert Chambers, and Sir John Royds and Sir Henry Russell were appointed to the puisne judgeships in the order named. Sir William Dunkin who was already in possession of a judgeship, was informed that permission was given to him to remain "as long as he thought proper", but a broad hint was conveyed to him at the same time that he was expected to vacate his seat at the end of one year. He embarked for Europe in January 1799. It was he who wrote the epitaph on the tomb of his colleague Sir William Jones in South Park Street Cemetery. His house in Calcutta was "in the rear of the theatre," which was then in Lyon's Range, "in an open airy situation" (p. 38).

Anstruther, says Hickey (p. 196) owed his appointment as Chief Justice to his parliamentary influence, "backed by a strong Scottish junto." The selection did not appeal to Erskine who "violently exclaimed", when he heard of the arrangement: "what the devil is all this? Russell going out under Anstruther! Why, Anstruther is not fit to carry Russell's bag!" Upon arrival the new Chief Justice had the misfortune to offend Hickey, who thus relates the episode (p. 197):

In August [1798] Sir John Anstruther arrived, having been detained for several weeks at the Cape of Good Hope by a severe attack of gout... I visited Sir John and his Lady at Messieurs Cockerell and Trail's, where they had taken up their abode until a suitable mansion could be got. This visit of mine Sir John returned three days afterwards when, happening to be at home at the time he called. I shewed him over my whole house, with every part of which he seemed greatly pleased, admiring equally its interior conveniences and the beauty of the view from it in every direction, specially towards the river. The day after this visit either he or his Lady had the modesty to send a gentleman to me to say what difficulty they experienced in finding a house fit for their family, and how greatly they would feel obliged if I would give up mine to them, it being exactly what they wanted. Without the least scruple or hesitation I returned a positive refusal, truly stating that I had expended too much money upon it and felt the convenience of its contiguity to the court too forcibly voluntarily to relinquish the possession, adding that I had taken the precaution to get from Sir Robert Chambers a written agreement that when the lease I held should expire, a new one should be granted for any term I required at the same rent, and that neither he nor his heirs or representatives should ever attempt to oust me.

Hickey does not tell us where the Chief Justice obtained ultimate accommodation: but he mentions that Sir Henry Russell, who had arrived in May, purchased towards the end of the year (1806) from Nemychurn Mullick "the very capital mansion which had for a few days only been the property of Sir James Watson, who absurdly fell a sacrifice to the folly of supposing the influence of a Bengal sun would not effect him more than its rays would in England. This house which stood on the site now covered by 12 and 13 Russell Street, is described as "being most desirably situated in Chowringhee, and having a very extensive piece of ground around it."

Watson, who was a serjeant-at-law, was appointed to succeed Sir William Jones and arrived in Calcutta in March 1796, during the last stages of the illness of Hyde, who died in July. The manner of Watson's death, which took place on May 2, is thus related by Hickey (p. 134). He purchased the house in Chowringhee to which allusion has been made and "being an opinionated new comer" exposed himself to the sun for several hours superintending the loading of the hackerys that were transporting his furniture.

The consequence of this was that on the second day he had done so, at the time of dinner when his family were just sitting down, he said he felt rather uncomfortable, with a great degree of giddiness; instead, therefore, of taking his seat at table, he lay down upon a sofa in the same room, and before sufficient time elapsed to summon medical assistance breathed his last. The next afternoon every person belonging to the Supreme Court as well as many of the principal gentlemen of the settlement, followed his corpse to the grave. Thus did he sacrifice his life to a ridiculous piece of obstinacy.

Hickey's house must have been on the Strand Road. In March 1794 he closed, he says (p. 117) with Sir Robert Chambers for his elegant mansion built by Mr. Thomas Lyon (the name-father of Lyon's Range) out of the very best materials. It had "the great advantage of being situated immediately behind the Court House with which it had a door of communication." This "capital house which was certainly one of the best in Calcutta", he took upon lease for five years at a monthly rent of four hundred and fifty sicca rupees: and not only furnished it in a splendid manner but erected a pillared verandah with a south aspect. Sketches by Hickey of the house before and after the addition of the verandah are given (p. 117).

Sir Henry Russell lived, if we are to credit Hickey, upon terms of the closest intimacy with him. He not only appointed him to be (as already stated) his clerk, and reappointed him upon his promotion in 1806 to the office of Chief Justice, but nominated him as deputy sheriff for the ensuing year. This latter post was a very profitable one. Hickey tells us (and the records show) that he held it seven times between the year 1784 and 1807. The deputy shared the emoluments equally with the sheriff: and the largest sum received by Hickey for any one year was twenty-five thousand sicca rupees, "equal to three thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling."

A portrait of Sir John Anstruther hangs in the Chief Justice's Court. No painter's name is to be found on the canvas, and the suggestion was hazarded in the previous article that the picture might be the work of George Chinnery who is certainly the painter of the portrait of Sir Henry Russell which is to be seen on the wall of the Sessions Court. Hickey (p. 391) gives a diverting account of the manner in which Sir John Anstruther's portrait came to be painted, and makes it clear that the artist was Robert Home. The Chief Justice frequently hinted to his "hangers—on and immediate dependants" that it would be most gratifying to him, previous to his departure from India, to receive an address or a demand for his portrait. Three or four of his "sycophantic admirers" proceeded to sound the dispositions of the settlement upon the subject, but met with so cold a reception, "especially from the natives of rank and opulence," that they desisted from their efforts. At the sessions of December, 1806, however, Sir John Anstruther who was on the point of leaving for Europe, persuaded Sir John Royds, whose turn it was to charge the Grand Jury, to allow him to take his place.

This desire being conceded to him, he made one of the most disgustingly fulsome speeches that ever was uttered in which, contrary to his usual insolence and contemptuous way of treating the gentlemen of the Grand Jury, he bespattered them with the most high-flown compliments... During his harangue he carried the burlesque so far as to affect twice or thrice to be unable to proceed, overcome as it were by the excess of his sensibility and acute feelings. This mummery produced the desired effect. The Grand Jury having retired to their room, the foreman, William Fairlie, Esquire, proposed an address expressive of their gratitude for the steady interest Sir John Anstruther had shown in the success and welfare of the settlement, and so forth. This proposition was violently opposed by several of the gentlemen present. After a debate of some hours' continuation, the question for the address was carried, there being seventeen in favour of it, and seven against it. Mr. Fairlie then proposed that the Chief Justice should be requested to sit for his picture. For this nine only gave any vote, and three of those nine declared that they would not subscribe a single rupee towards defraying the expence of it, so that the whole expence fell upon six gentlemen... Thus ended the ridiculous and disgusting farce. A sign-post whole-length likeness of the Chief Justice, executed by Mr. Home, was five weeks afterwards hung up in the court-room. Oh, what a wretched daub did it appear when a few months later Chinnery's picture of Sir Henry Russell was placed by its side!

Hickey appears to have allowed his personal dislike for Anstruther to prejudice his opinion of the artistic ability of Robert Home. For on an earlier page (p. 305) he tells us that he went with a friend to Home's house and inspected the "excellent portraits" which were hanging there. He

mentioned his satisfaction with the collection to Sir Henry Russell who informed him that he had commissioned Home to paint his portrait as a gift to his clerk. "On the 1st of January 1805, this portrait was fixed up in my breakfast room, and undoubtedly was a striking likeness, notwithstanding it did not appear so in my eyes, because several persons who did not know I had such a picture in my house until they saw it in its place, exclaimed 'what an admirable likeness that is of Sir Henry Russell!'" Hickey took the picture home with him and placed it in his dining-room at Beaconsfield. As a return gift, he presented the Chief Justice in 1808 (the year of his departure from India) with his own portrait by Chinnery, which he pronounced to be "a very capital likeness" and which "now occupies a corner in Sir Henry Russell's dining-room in the Court House of Calcutta" (p. 386). Chinnery came to Calcutta from Madras, Hickey tells us (p. 384) "upon special summons" to paint the portrait of Russell "which several of the principal natives of the settlement had by an elegant address in the Persian language entreated him to sit for, that it might be exhibited in the Town Hall, a splendid building then in a considerable degree of forwardness". This is the picture which is now in the High Court. Russell retired in 1813: but did not take his portrait of Hickey Home with him. Its present whereabouts are unknown. But it would seem that a mezzotint engraving of it was sold at Christies in 1852 out of the collection of Thomas Haviland Burke, who was a friend of the family and executor of the will of Ann Hickey, sister of William.

The date of the death of Hickey has not been accurately ascertained: but Mr. Alfred Spencer, the editor of the *Memoirs*, has come to the conclusion that he can be identified with the William Hickey of Little King Street, whose death on May 31, 1830, at the age of seventy, is recorded in the St. Pancras Church Register of Burials. Nothing is known of the *Memoirs* (observes the editor) until they fell into the hands of the late Colonel Horace Montagu of the 8th Hussars. They came to him "many years before 1880" among effects belonging to his uncle, Captain Montagu R. N. who died on July 31, 1863, at the age of seventy-six. On the death of Colonel Montagu on October 14, 1910, the manuscript was given by his executors as a memento to a close friend of his, Major Robert Poore. Major Poore who died on January 22, 1918, showed the manuscript to a friend who brought it to the notice of Mr. Spencer and thereby prepared the way for its publication.

EVAN COTTON.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Social Relaxation.

(A sheaf gleaned in the field of the Imperial Records.)

WARRIORS and conquerors, however hard-hearted men of the world they might be, are not always impervious to the feminine charm. Introduction. The biographies of several eminent heroes, both ancient and modern, beginning from Antonio down to Napoleon Bonaparte, testify to this fact. And the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, with all his brilliant abilities and martial qualities, was no exception to this rule. It is, therefore, the intention of this paper to leave aside for a while the sickening details of his homicidal exploits which elevated him to the Lahore throne and to contemplate his occasional recreations and amusements in the company of fair sex for diverting his mind from the crushing political cares and troubles incidental to a ruler of a great kingdom.

2. Before dealing with the Maharaja's social amenities, we must not lose sight of the fact that even during the height of his amusements, he did not entirely forget himself. In a *gala party* got up by him in May 1831, where Sir David Ochterlony and other English notabilities were present, while the merriments were at their height, the Maharaja seriously discussed with Sir David about some grave political problems of that period and "detailed on the satisfaction which he had derived from his alliance with the Company" by virtue of the Amritsar Treaty of 1809. We further find from the records, that he also on that occasion talked with Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana, about Sir Charles Metcalfe's embassy to his Court sent by Lord Minto, Lieut. Burnes' journey, the navigation of the Indus, the state of his political relations with Sind and the *Amirs* of that place, how he was attacked by certain tribes inhabiting on the banks of the Indus while he was taking a journey to Hyderabad by water, how he saved himself from their attack, etc. We further find on the strength of Capt. Wade's statement that the Maharaja's pleasure-seat at Adinanagar was a veritable place of serious business and talks in the *morning*, when no kind of light or frivolous things were allowed. The following extract from the Captain's statement will speak for itself:—"About 7 o'clock on the morning of the 24th May, 1831, His Highness sent Raja Dhiyan Singh to bring me to his presence. He was seated on the top of the gateway leading to the garden in which he has his residence and was commencing to take a muster of the troops commanded by *Jemadar* Kushal Singh, Raja Suchait Singh and the Corps of *Ghorcherras* (the name of one of the Maharaja's Corps) forming his personal guard. Carpets were spread at the foot of the gateway and in passing by each man deposited a *nazar* of a rupee. There were upwards of Rs. 5000 collected in *nazars* from which I infer that more than that number of persons must have passed in review". Capt. Wade

also informs us of the serious nature of conversations which the Maharaja had with him on that morning:—"The Maharaja talked of the distant predatory expeditions which the Sikhs were formerly in the habit of making, their mode of warfare, their impatience of discipline when he began to organize them, their endurance of privations, Shah Zeman's last invasion of the Punjab in 1799, the military character of the Goorkhas, the defeat which the Sikhs gave them at Kangra, whether the corporal punishments were discontinued in the British Service and myriads of questions of like nature". From the above it is clearly evident that the Maharaja's pleasure garden at Adinanagar was not only a mere scene of his relaxations and amusements but also a place of serious business.

3. Many over-Puritanic moralists have found faults with the social relaxations of the Maharaja. But Sir Lepel Griffin has taken a very sensible view of them. He says:—"It would be trivial to judge them (Maharaja's social amusements) without full consideration of the manners of the society in which he lived. Every age and people have their own standard of virtue; and what is to-day held to be atrocious or disreputable may, one hundred years hence, be the fashion. In the days of the Georges, our ancestors drank as heavily and ostentatiously as any of the Sirdars of the Lahore Court. 'Drunk as a Lord' was a popular saying which very fairly expressed the habits of aristocracy in England in the 18th century. To-day the fashion has changed and men drink less or more secretly. If we accept contemporary literature as sufficient evidence, the society of Paris to-day is fully as corrupt as that of the Junjab in 1830."

4. From the papers of the Imperial Record Dept. we find that Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana, came into frequent intimate contact with the Maharaja's Court on official business. In the year 1831 he visited the Maharaja while he was staying at his summer-seat at Adinanagar. From that place he wrote a letter to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to Government (Simla), on the 25th May 1831, giving a very interesting account of the life of ease and gaiety which the Maharaja was then leading there, away from the worries and turmoils of Lahore. The following extract from his letter will be read with interest:—"On the evening of the 22nd instant agreeably to invitation I went accompanied by Jemadar Kushal Singh to the Maharaja and found him seated in a shady spot by the canal attended by a few *Sirdars* and a set of about thirty dancing girls, richly dressed in yellow silk garments and armed with bows and arrows in man's attire. Some fountains were playing by his side which diffused a cool and refreshing air and he appeared in an easy and affable mood".

5. "After some conversation he gave the *Sirdars*, with the exception of two, their leave and called to the dancing girls, who were aside, to come forward. Shortly after which, *wine was introduced and drinking some him-

* This wine, according to Sir Lepel Griffin, "was a fierce compound distilled from corn-brandy, mixed with the juice of meat, opium, musk and various herbs. Of this the Maharaja drank large quantities in the evening and at night". But Capt. W. G. Osborne who himself saw

self, he asked me and Doctor Murray to follow his example, which we did. He repeated his libations every quarter of an hour measuring the quantity which he took in a small cup containing about a liquid ounce. Sir David Ochterlony had, the Maharaja said, attended similar orgies in his visit to his Court, observing that he could take more wine then than he could now ”.

6. “ Trays of Confectionary dressed in different ways to give relish to the wine were brought, of which we partook and after a sitting of more than three hours he desired Raja Suchait Singh to see us to a boat which was in attendance to convey us home. I was particularly struck with the combination of ease and propriety which he exhibited during the novel scene to which we have been invited.”

7. Capt. W. G. Osborne, the nephew as well as the Military Secretary to the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India, who as one of the members of the mission deputed from Simla to the Court of the Maharaja in May 1838 to place the British alliance with the Punjab chief on a more secure and decided footing, saw the Maharaja at his Adinanagar Summer retreat. The following extracts quoted from the *Journal* which he regularly wrote during his present visit to the Maharaja give some very rare and interesting descriptions of his dancing girls. The extracts run thus:—
“ On the 29th May 1838 in the course of the afternoon, the Maharaja’s headman came by his master’s orders to know if I should like to see his dancing girls, adding, that four of them who had lately arrived from Cashmere were very handsome. Accordingly, after dinner, I repaired to to a terrace on the banks of the canal, where we found eight young girls assembled and a display of fire-works prepared for my amusement on the opposite bank.”

“ The four Cashmerian girls were very pretty; one of them Sabhoo by name, would have been thought beautiful any where. They were richly and gracefully dressed in scarlet and gold embroidered shawl dresses, with large and enormously loose petticoats of handsomely worked silk. Their head ornaments were singular and very becoming; their glossy black hair hanging down the back in a number of long plaits with gold chains and small bunches of pearls suspended to the ends, enormous strings of pearls for earrings, and large gold rings with several pearls and emeralds attached to them, passed through their noses. They are very fair, with expressive countenances and large and lovely eyes; but their beauty is much disfigured by the custom which prevails amongst all the Mughal women, of covering the lower eyelid with gold leaf, which gives them a ghastly appearance.”

the wine of the Maharaja at his Court of Lahore in the year 1838, describes it thus:—“ His wine is extracted from raisins with a quantity of pearls ground to powder and mixed with it for no other reason than to add to the expense of it. It is made for himself alone, and though he sometimes gives a few bottles to some of his favourite Chiefs, it is very difficult to be procured, even at the enormous price of one gold mohur for a small bottle. It is as strong as *aqua fortis*.” Osborne further says that “ during the Maharaja’s drinking bouts the only food allowed are fat quails stuffed with all sorts of spices and the only thing to allay the thirst consequent upon eating such heating food is this ‘ abominable liquid fire ’ ”.

8. It is interesting to note that the Maharaja formed a small army out of his dancing-girls called "the corps of Amazons".
 Ranjit Singh's Capt. Osborne thus writes of this 'corps':—"The corps of Amazons. establishment of this female corps was one of the Maharaja's capricious whims, and the result of one of those drinking bouts which it was his delight, so frequently to indulge in. There were originally about 150 of these fair warriors, who were selected from the prettiest girls from Cashmere, Persia and the Punjab. They were magnificently dressed, armed with bows and arrows and used frequently to appear on horseback, mounted *en cavalier*, for the amusement of the Maharaja." One of these fair warriors, named Lotus, told the Captain that she was the owner of seven good villages received at different times from the Maharaja as marks of his favour. Though Captain Osborne ascribed the formation of the 'corps of Amazons' by the Maharaja to his "capricious whims" and to the "result of his drinking bout", yet judging all facts, it appears, that this idea no doubt originated from his excessive love of everything, manly and military.

9. A brief history of the Maharaja's aforesaid favourite warrior-girl, Lotus, will perhaps not be out of place here. Captain
 History of 'Lotus'. Osborne who saw her personally thus speaks about Lotus:—"One of the warrior girls called 'Lotus' is rather a celebrated character at the Court of Lahore. Ranjit Singh received her with the tribute from Cashmere about 1836 when she was said to have been very beautiful. The Maharaja fell violently in love with her and fancied that his affection was as violently returned". But the Maharaja was wrong. It is strange that the Maharaja, with all his wide information of the world, forgot for the time being, that "fickle is the heart of a woman". The following interesting incident related by Captain Osborne will illustrate this point:—"One evening, in the course of conversation with Mons. Ventura, a French Military Officer in the Maharaja's Service, when the girl 'Lotus' was dancing before them, he made some remark upon her attachment to him, which he declared was purely disinterested and too strong to be shaken by any offers of advantage or affection she might receive from other quarters. Ventura was incredulous; and Ranjit Singh highly indignant at this doubt of his powers of attraction, defied him to seduce her and promised to put no obstacles in his way, further than stipulating that she should be placed in the customary seclusion of his zenana. After several polite speeches on the part of Ventura upon his impropriety of his attempting to rival his sovereign, the challenge was accepted, and the young 'Lotus' immediately transferred to the royal seraglio with every precaution to ensure her safety. But scarce had eight-and-forty hours elapsed ere the hoary old 'Lion of the Punjab' was aroused from his happy dreams of love by the intelligence that his guards were faithless, his harems violated, and himself deserted, and that the lovely 'Lotus' had been transplanted from her royal lover's garden to the Frenchman's".

"Ranjit Singh bore her desertion with great equanimity but in a short time she returned to her allegiance and was enrolled by the Maharaja in

his 'Corps of Amazons'." In this connection, it should be noted, that this 'Lotus' immolated herself as a *Sati* on the funeral pyre of the Maharaja in 1839.

10. Captain Osborne thus speaks of the dancing of the 'Corps of Amazons' which he saw on the evening of the 30th May, 1838 at Adinanagar:—"Some of the detachment who attended this evening, though not more than twelve years of age, were very handsome, and their dancing is the first I have seen in this country that has a shade of anything approaching graceful in it,—one dance by the young Cashmerian girls, with single-sticks in their hands, particularly so; the clatter of the sticks, as they met in the mimic combat, keeping time to a slow and graceful movement of their feet, had the effect of castanets, and was altogether both pretty and singular."

11. On the 8th June 1838, the Maharaja and Captain Osborne left Adinanagar for Lahore, where the latter stayed up to the 13th July. There he had an opportunity of being present at a Maharaja's drinking party. On the 2nd July while the Captain was returning from Shadera (a suburb of Lahore) after visiting the tomb of the Great Mughal, Jehangir, the Maharaja met him on the way and began talking with him on various subjects. After some lively conversations he said to the Captain, "you have never been at one of my drinking parties; it is bad work drinking now, the weather is so hot; but as soon as we have a good rainy day, we will have one". The Captain who was shortly invited to a Maharaja's drinking party describes it thus:—"The Maharaja generally on these occasions has two or three 'Hebes' in the shape of the prettiest of his Cashmerian girls to attend upon himself and guests. During these potions he generally orders the attendance of all his dancing-girls, whom he forces to drink his wine and when he thinks them sufficiently excited, uses all his power to set them by the ears, the result of which is a general action, in the course of which they tear one another almost to pieces. They pull one another's nose and ear-rings by main force and sometimes even more serious accidents occur; the Maharaja sitting by encouraging them with the greatest delight and exclaiming to his guests "*Burra tamasha, burra tamasha* (great fun, great fun)".

12. Such was the social amenities of the Maharaja during his spare hours. In spite of these, the Maharaja was really a serious man and his true character has thus been given by Captain Osborne:—"Ranjit Singh was one of that order of master-minds which seem destined by Nature to win their way to distinction and achieve greatness. His courage was of that cool and calculating sort which courted no unnecessary danger, and shunned none which his purposes made it expedient to encounter; and he always observed a just proportion between his efforts and his objects. Gifted with an intuitive perception of character and a comprehensive knowledge of human nature it was by the over-ruling influence of a superior mind, that he contrived gradually and with little resistance, not only to reduce the proud and high-spirited chiefs of his nation to the condition of subjects, but to render them the devoted adherents

Osborne's description of the dancing of the 'Amazons'.

Maharaja's drinking party at Lahore.

Conclusion.

of his person, and the firm supporters of his throne ". Capt. Wade in endorsing the above views has also admitted:—" Few Chiefs exercised a more rigid controul (sic) over the conduct of his troops than he did ".

BASANTA KUMAR BASU.

Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.



THE NAWAB NAJM-UD-DAULA

The Mother of the Company

(Compiled from Original Papers.)

THE history of Munni Begam, the wife of Nawab Mir Jafar, is as full of romance as that of her contemporary Begam Samru—the celebrated Princess of Sardhana. Born and bred in poverty, she rose to the exalted position of the Regent of Bengal and a trusted friend of the great Governor-General Warren Hastings.

Her birth was humble. She was the daughter of a poor widow of Balkunda, a village near Sikandra, who, being unable to bring up the child, sold her to Bisu, a slave-girl belonging to Sammen Ali Khan. Bisu lived for five years at Delhi where she taught Munni the art of dancing. Munni's fame soon spread far and near, and Nawab Shahamat Jang (Nawazish Muhammad Khan), at the marriage of his adopted son Ikram-ud-daula—the younger brother of Siraj-ud-daula (c. Aug. 1746) summoned to Murshidabad Bisu's troupe of dancing-girls, to which Munni belonged, for a fee of Rs. 10,000. After that event, they continued to practise their trade at Murshidabad, which was at that time "as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there were individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city." (1) Mir Jafar engaged the party on Rs. 500 a month. Munni Bibi's beauty and musical skill soon conquered his heart and he took her into his harem. Babbu, the daughter of Sammen Ali Khan, also found a place in his seraglio afterwards. (2)

Munni Begam's attainments, cleverness and sincere love for her master raised her to the position of the principal Begam of Mir Jafar's harem and threw into the shade even his legitimate wife, Shah Khanam. (3) This enabled her in later life to gain possession of all the wealth that Mir Jafar had carried away from the Hira Jhil Palace of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula. She had two sons by him, Najm-ud-daula and Saif-ud-daula, while Babbu Begam had one son, Mubarak-ud-daula.

(1) Evidence of Lord Clive before the Committee of the House of Commons, 1772.

(2) Letter, recd. 5 June 1775, from Nanda Rai (the treasurer of Munni Begam) to Genl. Clavering and other Gentlemen of the Council.—*Secret Consultation*, 24 July 1775, No. 13A.

(3) Shah Khanam, step-sister of Nawab Aliwardi Khan, had a son named Mir Md. Sadiq Ali Khan (Miran) and a daughter who was married to Mir Md. Qasim Khan. Sadiq Ali Khan left two sons, Mir Saidu (Murtaza Kh.) and Mir Supan, and two daughters who were married to Sultan Mirza Daud.—Nanda Rai to Genl. Clavering. *Secret Con.* 24-7-1775, No. 13A; *Calendar of Pers. Correspondence*, iv, No. 1829.

Shah Khanam died—presumably early in 1766—during the Nizamat of Nawab Najm-ud-daula. *Pers. Corr.*, ii, No. 788.

Mir Jafar passed away at Murshidabad on 5th February 1765. (4) According to Caraccioli, Munni Begam heavily bribed the chiefs of the English Company, in order to secure the succession for her son. The Council at Calcutta disallowed the claim of the minor son of Mir Jafar's only legitimate offspring Miran, and raised Munni Begam's son, Najm-ud-daula, a boy of 15, to the throne. It was during the reign of Najm-ud-daula that the legacy of five lakhs of Rupees, left by Mir Jafar to Clive, was handed over to his Lordship by Munni Begam. She gave the following certificate, dated 12 Jany. 1767, to Clive:

"His Excellency the deceased Nawab when he was alive, of sound mind, and in the full enjoyment of all his mortal faculties gave me repeated orders to the following purport 'Out of the whole money and effects which I have in my possession I have bequeathed the sum of three lakhs fifty thousand Rupees in money, fifty thousand Rupees in jewels, and one lakh in gold mohurs, in all five lakhs of Rupees in money and effects, to the Light of my Eyes the Nawab firm in War, Lord Clive the Hero. The remainder after your marriage settlement is paid, you will distribute agreeable to the several proportions I have allotted.' In witness therefore to the truth of this promise of the late Nawab, I have given these few lines as a certificate." (*Public Procdgs.* 20-1-1767, p. 44).

As is well known, Clive formed this amount into a trust fund for the relief and maintenance of invalids in the Company's service and the widows of the soldiers (6 April 1770).

Najm-ud-daula died of fever on 8th May 1766, and was succeeded by his younger brother, who also died a premature death (March 1770). Mubarak-ud-daula, son of Babbu Begam, a boy of 12, was then placed on the throne.

During the reigns of her own sons, Najm-ud-daula and Saif-ud-daula, Munni Begam naturally enjoyed pre-eminence and controlled their household, while Babbu Begam remained in the background. But with the accession of her stepson Mubarak-ud-daula, Munni Begam's authority came to an end. Her lofty spirit and extensive influence had given umbrage to a very powerful man, Muhammad Riza Khan, the Deputy Nawab, who now wanted to instal Babbu Begam in the place of Munni, and succeeded in creating such a tension between the two Begams that they avoided each other's sight (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 26). Babbu claimed the control of her son's household and reported to Cartier, the then Governor of Bengal, the straitened circumstances in which she was living.

Cartier was not aware of it, he having been under the impression that like Munni Begam she too was in the enjoyment of every comfort. (5) He

(4) "... It is with much concern I am now to inform you that Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, departed life this day about noon."—Letter from Samuel Middleton, Resident at the Murshidabad Darbar, dated Muxadabad 5th Feby. 1765. *Secret Procdgs* 5th Feby. 1765, vol. 3, pp. 81-83.

(5) Governor of Bengal to Babbu Begam, dated 26 May 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii, Letter No. 281.

immediately wrote to the Naib Diwan at Murshidabad enquiring about the condition of the Begams. In reply Riza Khan suggested that while the place of honour rightfully belonged to Babbu Begam, it would be better if the two Begams were given equal rank and authority. (6)

This suggestion, however, did not appeal to the Governor. Such an arrangement, he thought, instead of ending the dispute existing between the two ladies would perpetuate it, and he decided that the real authority should be vested in Babbu Begam, the mother of the Nazim but that, as a matter of form and etiquette, she should treat Munni Begam as her superior. (7) He wrote accordingly (7 June 1770) to Munni Begam to the effect that, now that Mubarak-ud-daula was occupying the masnad of the Nizamat, it would be better for her to leave the control of his household to his own mother. (8) Muhammad Riza Khan and Mr. Becher (the Resident at Murshidabad) visited Babbu Begam in the fort and, in pursuance of the Governor's orders, vested her with the supreme control of the Nawab's household (June 1770). (9)

Riza Khan thus succeeded in setting up Babbu Begam in authority, and Munni Begam—writes her contemporary Ghulam Husain—"whose extent of understanding nothing can be compared to, but the immense stock which she is known to be possessed of in jewels and money, thought proper to take no notice of such an alteration; and although deeply wounded by such underhand dealings, she thought it beneath her dignity to descend to an explanation; and she passed the whole over with a disdainful silence." (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 26-27). But Babbu Begam's authority was of very short duration.

Muhammad Riza Khan had been Governor of Dacca and a friend of Lord Clive. During the minority of Nawab Najm-ud-daula he was appointed Naib Nazim, or deputy ruler, with the title of *Muzaffar Jang*, and this office, combined with that of Naib Diwan, he continued to hold under Saif-ud-daula and Mubarak-ud-daula, being virtually the Governor of Bengal.

The administration of Riza Khan, however, was considered inefficient. The ryots groaned under extortion and oppression; cultivation fell away; Bengal suffered unheard of depopulation (the loss of one-third of its total population) from the famine and pestilence of 1769-70, unprecedented in our history in their intensity, and the unhappy country was ravaged by bands of lawless banditti known as the Sannyasis. This was the darkest period in Bengal's lot, when the Company's servants enjoyed power without responsibility, and the natives had no protection from any foreign oppressor. The Directors in England grew alarmed at the situation and appointed Warren Hastings as Governor of Bengal to remedy the evil. He took charge of the government from Cartier in April 1772, when the times were out of joint. On his arrival in Calcutta he carried out the orders of the Home authorities by arresting Riza Khan on a charge of fraud and embezzlement and brought him down to Calcutta for trial.

(6) Md. Riza Khan to Governor, dated 22 May 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii. Letter No. 224.

(7) Governor to Md. Riza Khan, dated 24 May 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii. Letter No. 226.

(8) Governor to Munni Begam, dated 7 June 1770. *Pers. Corr.*, iii. Letter No. 245.

(9) *Pers. Corr.*, iii, Letters Nos. 256, 264, 176-77.

Riza Khan having been removed from the post of the administrator of Bengal, the Company decided "to stand forth as Diwan, and, by the agency of their own servants, to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues." To settle the land revenue of the various districts on the spot, a Committee of Circuit was formed with Hastings as President. During the stay of the Committee at Kasimbazar, Hastings paid visits to the Nawab's palace. Munni Begam, then aged about 50, was proposed for the superintendency of the Nawab's household, and the guardianship of his person on an annual allowance of Rs. 1,40,000, (10) assisted by Rajah Gurudas, the son of Nanda Kumar, in the capacity of her diwan. The Committee of Circuit justified the appointment of the Begam by the following piece of reasoning:—

"We know no person so fit for the trust of Guardian to the Nawab as the widow of the late Nawab Jafar Ali Khan, Munni Begam. Her rank may give her a claim to this pre-eminence without hazard to our own policy, nor will it be found incompatible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of the country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the Nawab's palace and the Diwan will act of course in all cases in which she cannot personally appear. Great abilities are not to be expected in a zenana, but in these she is very far from being deficient, nor is any extraordinary reach of understanding requisite for so limited an employ. She is said to have acquired a great ascendant over the spirit of the Nawab being the only person of whom he stands in any kind of awe; a circumstance highly necessary for fulfilling the chief part of her duty in directing his education and conduct, which appear to have been hitherto much neglected. (11) (Minute, 11th July, 1772).

(10) Munni Begam was drawing a monthly allowance of Rs. 6,000, which had been settled upon her by Nawab Najm-ud-daula, but as it was considered inadequate for maintaining her new and exalted position, she petitioned Hastings in August 1772 for an increase. (*Procdgs. of the Committee of Circuit at Krishnagar & Kasimbazar*, pp. 210-11).

The Committee of Circuit decided the question of her allowance thus:—

"With respect to the allowance of the Begam and the diwan, we thought we could not be guided by a better rule than that which our Honourable Masters have been pleased to prescribe on the subject of the ostensible minister which they mention, for the Nawab's affairs. As in fact the Begam, the diwan and the Rai-ryan of the Khalsa stand in the room of this minister, we thought the sum of three lakhs allowed for him, would be properly divided among the three, and we have settled it in the following proportions—

	Rs.
To Munni Begam	1,40,000
To Rajah Gurudas diwan, for himself and officers	1,00,000
To Rajah Rajballabh, Rai-ryan of the Khalsa	80,000
	<u>3,00,000</u>

— Letter of Committee of Circuit, dated Kasimbazar 14 September 1772. *Secret Procdgs.* 21 September 1772, No. 3.

(11) *Secret Procdgs.* 6 August 1772, vol. 22, p. 69.

But the supersession of the Nawab's own mother by Munni Begam was an unnatural arrangement and Hastings had to take pains to justify the step. He wrote to the Hon'ble Josias Dupre on 8th October, 1772:

"The execution of these measures was a matter of much delicacy, because the Nawab's servants were in possession, and his mother was considered as the head of the family. However, by avoiding every appearance of violence, and by a proper address to the Nawab's counsellors, he was easily induced, with a very good grace, and without opposition, to give his assent to the appointments, which were conferred in form in the presence of the Committee. (12) I should have mentioned that it had been previously resolved in the Nawab's council, that he should solemnly protest against them, claim the administration of his own affairs, or declare his resolution to abdicate the government and retire to Calcutta; he did neither. I had the honour some time afterwards to reconcile the two ladies, and to bring about a meeting between them; an event from which I claim some merit, although I do not imagine there is a grain of affection subsisting between them." (Gleig, i. 261-2).

Scandalous tongues suggested that Munni Begam's money had converted Hastings into her supporter. But, in truth, he was actuated by a deeper motive, as his letters show. (13) For seven years Riza Khan had had the absolute command of every branch of the Nizamat and been, in all but the name, the Nazim of the province; his influence in the Nawab's household and at the capital was scarcely affected by his present disgrace, and it is chiefly with the object of "eradicating his influence" that the choice fell on Munni Begam and Raja Gurudas—both of them declared enemies of Riza Khan. This also was the reason why Babbu Begam, the Nawab's own mother, was set aside; she was at heart a partizan of Riza Khan.

To explain the grounds which had prompted him to offer the guardianship of the Nawab to Munni Begam, Hastings wrote to the Home authorities (on 1st September 1772):

"The appointment of Munni Begam, I believe, will require no apology. It was unanimously approved, and if I can be a judge of the public opinion, it is a measure of general satisfaction.

The only man who could pretend to such a trust was the Nawab Ihtisam-ud-daula, the brother of Mir Jafar, a man, indeed, of no dangerous abilities, nor apparent ambition, but the father of a numerous family, who by his being brought so nigh to the masnad would have acquired a right of inheritance to the subahship; and if only one of his sons, who are all in the prime of life, should have raised his hopes to the succession, it would have been

(12) See *Secret Procdgs.* 29th August, 1772, No. 1.

(13) Hastings to the Hon'ble Josias Dupre, 8 October 1772; Hastings to the Secret Committee of the Hon'ble Court of Directors dated 1st September 1772.—See Gleig's *Memoirs of Warren Hastings*, i. 250, 261-2.

in his power at any time to remove the single obstacle which the Nawab's life opposed to the advancement of his family. The guardian at least would have been the Nazim while the minority lasted, and all the advantages which the Company may hope to derive from it in the confirmation of their power would have been lost, or could only have been maintained by a contention hurtful to their rights, or by a violence yet more exceptionable. The case would be much the same were any other man placed in that station.....

The Begam, as a woman, is incapable of passing the bounds assigned her; her ambition cannot aspire to higher dignity. She has no children to provide for, or mislead her fidelity; her actual authority rests on the Nawab's life, and therefore cannot endanger it. It must cease with his minority, when she must depend absolutely on the Company for support against her ward and pupil, who will then become her master. Of course her interest must lead her to concur with all the designs of the Company, and to solicit their patronage. I have the pleasure to add that, in the exercise of her office, she has already shown herself amply qualified for it, by her discernment, economy, and a patient attention to affairs." (14)

Warren Hastings was appointed Governor-General on 20th October 1774, and a new council was appointed consisting of four councillors, three of whom—*viz.*, Mr. Francis, Genl. Clavering and Col. Monson—arrived from England in the same month. On their arrival, strong dissensions broke out in the council, and the disagreement between the triumvirate and Hastings's party, consisting of himself and Richard Barwell, soon reached such a pitch as to become a public scandal. This gave the enemies of the Governor-General a splendid opportunity to satisfy the ancient grudge they bore towards him. Maharajah Nanda Kumar addressed the Supreme Council quoting instances of infamous action and corruption on the part of Hastings. One of the charges trumped up against the Governor-General was his acceptance of a bribe of a lakh and a half from Munni Begam at the time of her appointment as Guardian to the Nawab. But the Begam maintained that the amount in question "was sent on account of entertainment. The custom of entertainment was of long standing, and that every Governor, who had visited Murshidabad before, received a daily sum of Rs. 2,000 as such, which was in fact [given] instead of provisions." (15)

But the trio, who formed the majority, were not satisfied with the management of Munni Begam, and in May 1775 they removed her from her office. Rajah Gurudas was invested with authority to deal with all affairs of the Nizamat. (16) In justification of her dismissal, the three

(14) Hastings to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Kasimbazar, 1st September, 1772.—Gleig, i. 253-54.

(15) Letter, recd. 15 June 1775, from Munni Begam to the Governor-General. *Secret Procs.* 24-7-1775, vol. 14, pp. 563-66.

(16) *Pers. Correspondence*, iv. Letters Nos. 1752, 1780, 1802, 1806.

councillors in their minutes to the Court of Directors, dated 15th September 1775, remarked:

"...She is not the Nawab's mother. She is not by birth a woman of any rank, but originally as we are informed, a slave and a dancing girl. We consider her merely as an instrument in the Governor's hand to dispose of the Nawab's revenue as he might think proper. His committing the guardianship of the Nawab to a weak woman, as he [Hastings] calls her in another place, is not to be accounted for on any other principle...

The present distresses of the Nawab and his family, the clamours of his creditors, and the mean and dishonourable state in which he was kept, sufficiently show what care she took of his revenues, and in what manner they were disposed of. Her care of his education stands much upon the same footing. While she was destroying his fortune, it is not likely that she should attend to the cultivation of his mind, nor do we conceive it possible she could be qualified for such a trust. The accounts brought down by Mr. James Grant are under examination. The over-payment of near fourteen lakhs on account of the Nawab's pension in the year 1772 is admitted by Mr. Hastings as a *material error*. The Nawab's present debts are *supposed* to amount to nine lakhs, contracted during the guardianship of the Begam." (17)

Great was the disappointment of Hastings at her dismissal. He wrote to Mr. Laurence Sullivan (afterwards Chairman of the E. I. Co.) on 21st March 1776:

"They have dismissed the Begam from her office which I had assigned her for the express and sole purpose of guarding the Company's authority against encroachment or competition."

Munni Begam continued throughout life a faithful friend of Hastings in all his troubles. Her sincere attachment to Mrs. Hastings is evident from the following letter which Hastings wrote to his wife on 28th February, 1784:

"I forgot to tell you that Munni Begam expressed her regret of your departure in terms which seemed too natural to have proceeded from mere civility, and I was pleased to hear her say that she grieved on my account as much as for her own loss in your departure and the necessity which occasioned it." (18)

Munni Begam had good reason to be grateful to Hastings. His care for her interests continued to the last; and on the eve of sailing away from India he wrote, on 3rd November 1783, a sentimental letter to the Court

(17) *Selections from State Papers preserved in the Foreign Dept., 1772-1785*, ii. 478.

(18) *Letters of Warren Hastings to his Wife*.—S. C. Grier, p. 267.

In the Victoria Memorial Museum are exhibited "an ivory chair and a small table of the same material which formed part of a historic set of furniture. They were a present from Munni Begam to Mrs. Hastings, and for many years they were at Daylesford, the English home of Hastings." *Calcutta Old & New*—H. E. A. Cotton, p. 825; Munni Begam's presents to Mr. and Mrs. Hastings, Grier, pp. 244, 341, 365.

of Directors in her praise, desiring them to make a large allowance for her comfort in her old age. This letter, with an *arzi* from the Begam, was transmitted by Hastings to the Court without communicating it to the Council:

"She too became the victim of your policy, and of the resentments which succeeded. Something too she owed of the source of her misfortunes to the belief of the personal gratitude which she might entertain for the public attention which I had shown to her; yet exposed as she was to a treatment which a ruffian would have shuddered at committing, and which no recollection of past enmities shall compel me to believe, even for a moment, proceeded from any commission of authority, she still maintained the decorum of her character; nor even then, nor before, nor since that period, has the malice of calumny ever dared to breathe on her reputation.

Pardon, honourable sirs, this freedom of expostulation. I must in honest truth repeat, that your commands laid the first foundation of her misfortunes; to your equity she has now recourse through me for their alleviation, that she may pass the remainder of her life in a state which may at least efface the remembrance of the years of her affliction and to your humanity she and an unseen multitude of the most helpless of her sex cry for subsistence." (19)

The Court of Directors forwarded a copy of Hastings's letter and that of the enclosed *arzi* of the Begam, to the Governor-General and Council with the following instructions:—

"An application has been made to us by Mr. Hastings in behalf of Munni Begam, the widow of the late Mir Jafar, a copy of whose letters we likewise enclose. It is our wish to alleviate, as far as the circumstances of our affairs will permit us, the distress of all the relations of Mir Jafar, and enable the present Nawab and his family, under an economical system to be adjusted by you, to live comfortably and happy. But as the real situation of Munni Begam will of course be included in your enquiries, and in the report upon the general subject of the Nawab's family and expenses, we shall forbear for the present to make any further observations thereon than to direct that an independent stipend be allotted for her support, subject, as in the other case, to our future consideration and approval". (20)

(19) *Impeachment of Warren Hastings*—Edmund Burke, pp. 492-93.

Burke's comments on this letter are significant:—

"It appears upon your printed minutes, that this woman had a way of comforting herself... This lady was a smuggler, and had influence enough to avoid payment of the duty on spirits, in which article she was the largest dealer in the district; as indeed she was in almost every species of trade... She carried on, notwithstanding her dignity, a trade in spirits... But she appears not only to have been a dealer in it, but, through the influence which Mr. Hastings gave her, to have monopolized the trade in brandy, and to have evaded the duties..." (P. 494).

(20) *Public Letter from the Court of Directors* dated London 21st July, 1786, para. 25.

Mubarak-ud-daula nominally obtained his emancipation on the removal of Munni Begam from the regency. But she still contrived to maintain absolute control over the entire Nawab family, for she had vast wealth at her command, and was full of resources. As Mubarak-ud-daula cherished the hope of one day inheriting her hoard of jewels and cash, she could easily frighten him into compliance with her wishes by threatening to "squander her riches amongst the poor or to leave them to strangers and Frenghees (Europeans)." Indeed, she appears to have been feared, though not loved. She was allowed to retain the dignity of a Princess, being assigned a monthly allowance of Rs. 12,000, and continued to live at Murshidabad in splendour.

After the death of Mubarak-ud-daula, on 6th September 1793, his son Babar Ali Khan or Mubarak-ud-daula the Second succeeded him. During his Nizamat Lord Valentia visited Murshidabad (1804) and had an interview with both the Nawab and Munni Begam. The following account of the Begam from his pen is likely to be of interest to the reader:

"She lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half, which, out of respect to Mir Jafar's memory, she has not quitted since his death, which is now forty years. She conversed from behind a scarlet silk purdah, that was stretched across a handsome open room, supported by pillars. The whole had an appearance of opulence... Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally tremulous... (21) She has a good understanding, though her temper is exceedingly violent. There is no doubt of her being rich; but what will become of her property is uncertain. Nothing can induce her to make a will: the very mention of a thing that insinuates a supposition of its being possible she can die, throwing her into a violent passion... During the whole of our stay two *minahs* were talking most incessantly, to the great delight of the old lady, who often laughed at what they said, and praised their talents. Her hookah filled up the intervals." (*Voyages & Travels*, i. 184-85).

Babar Ali Khan died on 28th April 1810. His death was followed by a dispute over the succession. Munni Begam pressed the claim of Sayyid Abul Qasim (popularly called Mungli Sahib), the second son of Mubarak-ud-daula I. and brother of Babar Ali, and endeavoured to secure the *masnad* for him, (22) but the Governor-General, Lord Minto, favoured Ali Jah, the eldest son of Babar Ali, who was installed on 5th June, 1810.

Munni Begam was the first of the few ruling ladies—known as Gaddi-nashin Begams—to whom separate *deorhis* or allowances were assigned. Both she and Babbu Begam belonged to this class. (23)

(21) Lord Valentia was informed by Mrs. Pattle (wife of the Superintendent of Nizamat Affairs) who had seen the Begam in old age, that she was very short and fat, with vulgar, large, to the ravages of old age. harsh features, and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld. This was probably due 1810 (Receipt Vol.), No. 261.

(22) Letter, recd. 17 May 1810, from Munni Begam. *Political Correspondence of Lord Minto*.

(23) Babbu Begam's allowance was fixed at Rs. 8,000 per month. She died on 18th November 1809.

The beautiful Chowk Masjid, south-east of the Murshidabad Palace—the largest mosque in the city—stands as a monument to her fame. It was built by her in 1767 on the site of Nawab Shuja Khan's *Chehel Setun*, the forty-pillared audience hall.

She was styled 'the Mother of the Company'. When she was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow at the death of her husband, Lord Clive came to her and said,—“It is true I cannot restore the late Nawab to life; but I declare with the utmost sincerity of heart that I consider myself and all the English Gentlemen to be your Highness's children and that we regard you as our mother. We shall conform to your pleasure, and never act contrary to your will.” (24) She was indeed high in the favour of Clive and Hastings. It is said that her lavish presents gained for her the title of 'Mother-of-the Company'. “She in her turn received several, one of which was from Rani Bhawani, being a *palki* with 30 bearers gifted with service tenures, which they were to enjoy in lieu of wages. The lands so given are still in the possession of the Nizamat.” (*Masnad of Murshidabad*, p. 132).

Munni Begam was a benevolent lady. Once a maid-servant in her employ was in great distress, being unable to give her daughter in marriage for want of funds. On hearing of it, the Begam immediately sent her 70 or 80 gold mohurs and other necessary things. Nor was this the only instance of her generosity (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 147-48).

A woman of much sense and spirit, she was haughty and overbearing in character, but steadfast and faithful, never forsaking a friend or a dependent. Although not of a virtuous family, nor of noble birth, she was a woman of unusual capacity, and her good sense, as well as her steadiness of purpose, was never so remarkable, as when she had any scheme to carry into execution. For, whatever she once undertook, she never failed to perform, as she always found some expedient or other for attaining success. But she failed as a ruler. Had she brought herself to the practice of sitting behind a curtain and hearing complaints herself, instead of leaving all things entirely to her deputy Itbar Ali—a mean-minded, savage and imbecile fellow, who gave a good deal of trouble and uneasiness to many—the government of Murshidabad would never have been snatched out of her hands. (*Mutaqherin*, iii. 41-42, 147).

Munni Begam retained the full vigour of her intellect even in old age. After the death of her husband she had the management and control of the Nizamat and the settlement of all points connected with its administration, and thus exercised authority for about half a century. Her long life was full of vicissitudes. She had seen her husband raised to the *masnad* of Murshidabad by the British, deposed and raised again, and her royal son reduced to a pensioner. But the chequered career of the erstwhile dancing-girl of Sikandra at last drew to a close. She died on 10th January 1813, leaving personal property worth over 15 lakhs. Her mortal remains lie

(24) Letter recd. 17 May 1810, from Munni Begam.—*Pol. Corr. of Lord Minto*, 1810 (Receipt Vol.), No. 261.

buried within an enclosure of wavy walls at Jafaraganj, the family cemetery of Mir Jafar, about a mile and a half from the Palace. (25)

Her death and the proceedings that followed it are graphically described by Mr. T. Brooke, the Superintendent of Nizamat Affairs, in his letter to the Persian Secretary to Government:

"...From undoubted sources of information the death of Her Highness was sudden; she had sat up the preceding night in the performance of the celebration of the Muharram to a late hour; when she got up in the morning she did not complain of fatigue, had been giving her orders as usual, retired between ten and eleven for occasions, where she dropped down; is said to have called out for His Highness, but expired before he could reach her without uttering another word... Everybody seemed engaged in preparations for the interment of Her Highness which had been fixed for five in the evening, but the procession did not move from the Palace till the hour of six. The Nawab, in all his state followed the body, the Superintendent accompanied His Highness; first to the masjid, and afterwards to the family burying ground at Jafaraganj, where the remains of Her Highness were deposited at a little before 9 o'clock at night.

The age of Her Highness may be computed to have been ninety-seven from the information of persons in the family now living who in former times have frequently heard the Begam declare she was twenty-three years of age at the massacre of Delhi by Nadir Shah, which occurred in 1739.

It was my anxious desire that the funeral obsequies of this venerable lady should have been marked by every distinction which could demonstrate the respect of the British Government, but Her Highness's sudden demise precluded any preparatory steps to fulfil the orders of Government; and when it was proposed that the interment should be postponed until the Military Detachment could arrive from Berhampur and the Gentlemen of the station could be assembled at the Palace, it seemed to give so much dissatisfaction and was so warmly opposed that the suggestion was abandoned. But Her Highness's remains were carried to the grave with every mark of native pomp and splendour, the whole of His Highness's establishment attended, and the procession was accompanied by crowds of people..." (Dated 11th January, 1813). (26)

As a mark of respect to her memory, minute guns to the number of ninety, corresponding to the years of her life, were fired by order of the Governor-General, from the ramparts of Fort William on the evening of 14th January 1813, the flag being hoisted half mast. (27)

(25) Shortly after her death, a sum of Rs. 9,500, out of the private property left by her, was invested in Government Securities, as a fund to defray the expenses of an establishment at her tomb. See Reports on the Accounts of the Murshidabad Nizamat Stipend Fund, from 1816-17 to 1859, etc.

(26) *Secret Consultation*, 26 February, 1813, No. 18.

(27) *Selections from Calcutta Gazette*, iv. 120-21.

APPENDIX

PERSONAL PROPERTY OF MUNNI BEGAM

Extract from a letter, dated Murshidabad 26 Dec. 1816, from J. Monckton to John Adam, Actg. Secretary to Government, Fort William.

3. Previously to the Nawab's indisposition, His Highness had attended with me almost daily for three weeks at the late Munni Begam's apartments, for the purpose of inspecting and examining Her late Highness's treasure and jewels, as also her other property, the extent and variety of which was very great.

4. The jewels may fairly be estimated at not less than six lakhs of Rupees, the gold and silver utensils amount in weight to Sicca Rupees one lakh, two thousand and fifteen, and the property in goods consisting of rich velvets, Benares, gold and silver stuffs, shawls, muslins, silks, beautifully embroidered purdahs, and a countless variety of other articles cannot be estimated at less than one lakh and a half of Rupees. The collection of articles of every description was prodigious, and I have great satisfaction in stating that the whole of the property was in the highest state of perfection.

5. The treasure in gold, silver, and copper coin amounted to 150,507-12 Rupees, but in taking an account of the money, a box containing 16,053 Rupees was pointed out to me as belonging to Zeb-un-nisa Begam, who is grand-daughter of His Highness Nawab Mir Jafar Ali Khan, and also to her brother.

15. The sum of 16,053 Rupees being deducted from the property found in the late Munni Begam's apartments, the treasure which actually belonged to Her Highness amounted to Rupees 14,85,454-12, out of which has been deducted Rupees 8,58,043-14-8, and a further sum of Rs. 44,650, reserved for the purpose of reducing jewels mortgaged on bond, to the amount of Rs. 50,000, leaving a surplus of Rs. 5,82,760-13-4, which has been formerly made over to His Highness, together with the whole of the jewels, gold and silver utensils, and other property amounting collectively to about 8,50,000 Rupees. Thus, by the death of Her Highness the Munni Begam, the Nawab has acquired personal property to the extent of nearly fifteen lakhs of Rupees, besides the possession of lands and houses, and the Chowk adjoining the Palace, which alone yields a revenue of 12,000 Rupees per mensem. (28)

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

A God-daughter of Warren Hastings.

"KISS my dear Betsy for me, and assure her of my tenderest affection. May the God of goodness bless you both...Remember me, and make my Betsy remember and love her godfather and her mother's sincere and faithful friend, Warren Hastings."

The little girl thus tenderly mentioned was the daughter of Dr. Tysoe Saul Hancock (1), who married Philadelphia Austen, aunt of the famous Jane, at Cuddalore in 1753. Betsy was born in India, and in later days laughingly ascribed her "share of the wandering spirit our countrymen are in general possessed with," to "being so early accustomed to a vagabond life." She and her parents went home with Hastings in 1765, but when the two men returned to India four years later, Mrs. Hancock and her little girl remained in England. That they were not forgotten by the exiles is shown by Dr. Hancock's letter-book, preserved in the British Museum, which overflows with yearning affection for the wife and child he was never to see again, and bears frequent testimony to his friend's thoughtful generosity, while the letters of Hastings' sister, Mrs. Woodman, and her husband, contain constant mention of and messages from them.

Hancock appears to have been considerably older than his wife (he is alluded to as "the old gentleman" by his Calcutta contemporaries), and to have been broken in constitution and soured in temper by long years of toil in the tropics. As time goes on, a certain lack of sympathy, almost amounting to harshness, makes its appearance in the letters to his wife, but there is no failure of tenderness in those to Betsy, of whose childhood they give us vivid glimpses. She was evidently devoted to animals. In 1770 her father writes:—

"You forgot to tell me your Fox Dog's Name. I desire you will give him a good Piece of Beef or Mutton, whichever he likes best, and tell him I have a great Regard or him because you are fond of him, and that if I return to England I hope to be better acquainted with him."

On the question of a pony some difference of opinion had obviously arisen, for Betsy wrote to ask her father if she might have one. He replies

(1) See the author's "A Friend of Warren Hastings" in *Blackwood's Magazine* for April, 1904. Since its appearance the author has been entrusted, by the great-grand-nephew of the lady to whom they were addressed, with a large collection of letters written by the subject of the present article, and the fuller information thus obtained has rendered it possible to correct some of the statements at first made. The collection includes also many letters from the Rev. George and Mrs. Austen and their daughter Cassandra.

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that he is so pleased with her mamma's praises of her diligence and attention that she shall have the best little horse that can be bought, but she is not long its happy possessor. "I am much chagrined," he writes to his wife, "that you have given away the horse. Pray buy another, the best you can get, and keep it as long as there is a livery-stable in London." Mrs. Hancock's anxiety to cut down expenses was a sore point with her husband, and he makes things safe by informing Betsy of his wishes. In the same letter he tells her of the sad fate which has befallen "a very fine white Persian cat," which he was to have sent her from "the Governor, your godfather." An ill-conditioned cousin who was staying with him quarrelled with the next-door neighbour, "and the cat having strayed into his house this gentleman or some of his people shot her; I suppose to be revenged on Mr. Stanhope."

Very touching are some of these letters, showing the absent father's interest in all that interests his child. He sends her gold mohurs fresh from the mint for her collection of coins, praises her for her bravery at the dentist's, inquiries about her child friends, and constantly incites her to improvement in her lessons. Thoroughness was of extreme importance in his eyes, and he betrays a certain fear lest his wife should neglect the useful in favour of the ornamental in Betsy's education. He comments on her progress in writing, and sends her little sums to answer, in order to test her progress in arithmetic. On the subject of her music he becomes dogmatic. Expressing his pleasure that Betsy has a good ear for music, he directs that if she learns the guitar she is to have the best master obtainable, or she will fall into a habit of wrong fingering which can never be rectified;

"As I hold myself to be a perfect judge of this Matter, I shall not submit to have my opinion controverted, but insist on your Compliance with my request."

The ruffled spirit indicated in this letter was caused by the discovery that his wife was looking forward to bringing Betsy out to India in a year or two. Natural and innocent though the intention appears, Hancock would have none of it. It was quite possible that at twelve (which was the age her mother had selected) Betsy might be equal to most girls of fifteen, but would she have any judgment? She was sure to be "romantic," and to have picked up false notions of happiness, while there was scarcely a man in Bengal to whom he would wish to see her married, though there was "a great plenty of Coxcombs, with good persons but no other recommendation." Mrs. Hancock accepted the rebuke with a good grace—wonderfully good in view of the brilliant future that Calcutta would have offered her for the dearly loved godchild of the Governor—and laid her plans afresh. Her husband had vouchsafed his approval to an idea of hers of taking Betsy to France to learn the language, provided it was done before she was old enough "to risque picking up the levity and follies of the French." This fell through, however, and Mrs. Hancock suggested giving Betsy a French companion. "I can have no objection to it," her husband writes, "till the child may be old enough to imbibe the spirit of intrigue, without which no Frenchwoman ever existed."

But no steps had been taken to carry out the plan before the kindly, testy husband and father died in 1775, leaving his affairs in inextricable confusion, but happy in the knowledge that his wife and Betsy were provided for through the munificence of Hastings, and the way was now clear.

From the letters of her sister-in-law, Mrs. Austen, Philadelphia Hancock appears to have been a woman of considerable force of character. She lived near the Woodmans, in such close intimacy with them that Hastings says he regards the two families as one, and Mr. and Mrs. Woodman seem to have looked forward to a closer connection still. Among the many particulars he gives as to "Mrs. Hancock and Miss," Mr. Woodman is at pains to emphasise his son's devotion to the little girl. "Tom and she are as fond of each other as when you was in England," he writes to Hastings, and his wife says:

"Mrs. and Miss Hancock are very well, whom we have often the pleasure of seeing; we were all very happy there on Miss Hancock's birthday, and in particular Tommy, there being a ball for the young folks."

But Mrs. Hancock had other views, and taking with her Betsy and her faithful maid Clarinda, who had accompanied her from India, she spent several years on the Continent, "in Germany, France and Flanders," as Betsy tells us. They must have started before the war with France broke out in 1778, and it was not until the peace of 1783 that Mrs. Hancock was able to return to England in the hope of settling her husband's affairs, but Mr. Woodman keeps Hastings informed of their movements as far as he can.

It was natural that five or six years should work changes, and in their course the Betsy of her father's letter-book disappears, and Miss Eliza Hancock reveals herself to us in her own letters. In her day "Eliza" was considered a beautiful and romantic name. The letters are addressed to her cousin Philadelphia Walter (afterwards Mrs. Whitaker), the daughter of Mrs. Hancock's half-brother, whom Mr. Woodman mentions to have been present at one of "Miss Hancock and Tommy's balls...a grand affair." They are some thirty-five in number, and the writing, which is very clear and even—a tribute to Dr. Hancock's anxious endeavours changes wonderfully little in the twenty years over which they extend. Eliza was not a frequent correspondent—her father remarks sadly in one of his latest letters that Betsy must have forgotten to write to him; he would like to have one letter a year, if only to see how her writing improves—and she confesses the fact over and over again, but she wrote well and brightly. Here is a glimpse of Marie Antoinette in 1780:—

"We were a few days ago at Versailles. and had the honour to see their Majesties and all the royal family dine and sup. The Queen is a very fine Woman. She has a most beautiful complexion, and is indeed exceedingly handsome. She was most elegantly dressed. She had on a *coreset*" (the stiff pointed bodice) "and Petticoat of pale green lutestring, covered with a transparent silver gauze. The Petticoat and sleeves puckered and confined in different places

with large bunches of roses. An amazing large bouquet of white Lilac. The same flower, together with gauze, Feathers, ribbon and diamonds intermixed with her hair. Her neck was entirely uncovered, and ornamented by a most beautiful chain of diamonds, of which she had likewise very fine bracelets. She was without gloves, I suppose to show her hands and arms, which are, without exception, the whitest and most beautiful I ever beheld."

Very kind and a little condescending is Eliza in depicting for her country cousin the gaieties of Paris. Whether it is the fashionable promenade at Longchamp, where the princesses appear in open calashes drawn by six horses—and among the most elegant is the Princess de Lamballe whose natural beauty does not want all the additions it had received—or the balls, at which, in contrast with the English fashion of retaining the same partner the whole evening, a lady changed her cavalier after every dance, she is careful to show the superiority of her own surroundings. But she sends valuable advice as to clothes and hair-dressing, powder and rouge, from the very headquarters of fashion, mentioning that large yellow straw hats, "such as I believe you may have seen worn by haymakers," are universally adopted, and called, like everything else at the moment, *à la Marlborough*, because the Queen has chanced to hear the Dauphin's nurse singing him to sleep with the old ballad. She comments on the French stage, where "it is still the fashion to translate or rather murder Shakespeare," the opera, and the prevalent balloon mania, and she rallies her correspondent repeatedly on the subject of various beaux or *agreeables*.

When she disclaims any thought of matrimony, while hinting that the matter depends entirely on herself, and in the next letter asks Philadelphia how she would like *un cousin françois*, we begin to be suspicious, and are not surprised to find Mr. Woodman writing to Hastings that she is about to marry a French officer, with "great connections and expectations," much to the dismay of her English relatives.

Eliza writes next as the Comtesse de Feuilleide, and she describes her journey into "Guyenne" to visit her husband's family and possessions, and their sojourn for his health at Bagnères, where there are "publick diversions as at Bath and Tunbridge Wells," and "a most charming society, chiefly English." In 1787 she is in London, the proud mother of a "wonderful brat," born in England by the express desire of M. de Feuilleide, "who pays me the compliment of being very partial to my country," and named Hastings after Eliza's godfather, now just embarked upon the long agony of his trial. In spite of her preference for French diversions, she does not hold aloof from English society.

"I have been for some time the greatest rake imaginable, and really wonder how such a meagre creature as I am can support so much fatigue, of which the history of one day will give you some idea, for I only stood from two to four in the Drawing-room, and of course loaded with a great hoop of no inconsiderable weight," (this was still worn at Court, though discarded from ordinary dress) "went to the Dutchess of Cumberland's in

the evening, and from thence to Almacks, where I staid till five in the morning."

In her next letter she is full of a new project. She is to spend Christmas at Steventon with the Austens, and is intent on private theatricals—the prototype of those to be played on the more famous stage of "Mansfield Park." Long ago her father had congratulated her on having performed pretty well her part in a children's play, she had spent Carnival in 1786 with freinds who had erected an elegant theatre for acting plays among themselves, and henceforth she was to be the moving spirit of the performances which took place in the Rectory dining-room in winter, and in the barn in summer, and for which James Austen, the eldest brother, wrote prologues and epilogues.

High Life below Stairs and *The Sultan*, in which the title-part was played by Henry Austen, are the only plays mentioned by name, but between the cousins the subject is hardly mentioned after Philadelphia had refused a very urgent request to take part, because she was reluctant to "appear in Publick." A series of visits followed that to Steventon, to Mr. and Mrs. Hastings at Beaumont Lodge, Windsor, to St. John's College, Oxford, where James and Henry Austen were in residence, and where Eliza was "delighted with the Black Gown and thought the Square Cap mighty becoming," and then the travellers prepared to return home.

"You mention the troubles in France," Eliza says in August, 1788,

"but you will easily imagine from what I said concerning my approaching journey that things are in a quiter state than they were some months ago."

The next letter is from Paris, full of charming gossip about little Hastings and affectionate raillery of Philadelphia on her love-affairs, but in the next, dated January 1791, the beginning of the end is already in view. Eliza and her little boy are at Margate for the purpose of sea-bathing, "notwithstanding the severity of the weather and Frost and Snow, which is, I think, somewhat courageous," in which we may agree with her. But:

"My Spouse, who is a strong *Aristocrate* or Royalist in his Heart, has joined this latest party, who have taken refuge in Piedmont, and is now at Turin, where the French Princes of the Blood are assembled, and watching some favourable opportunity to reinstate themselves in the country they have quitted."

M. de Feuillide seems to have found his opportunity, for when Eliza writes next, from London where she is nursing her mother, though he has promised her a visit in September, she fears that France will by that time be engaged in a war in which his services will be required. Mrs. Hancock died early in 1792, and M. de Feuillide succeeded in reaching his wife's side, but was compelled to hurry back to France, having been warned that if he remained longer in England, he would be "considered one of the Emigrants, and all his property forfeited to the Nation."

He left for Paris, hoping to return in a few months, but Eliza never saw him again, though she did not know for a long time what had become

of him. As late as September 1794, when she writes to Hastings, she was still uncertain as to his fate, but it must have been made clear almost immediately after this. According to the Rev. J. E. Austen-Leigh's 'Life of Jane Austen,' the Comte de Feuillade was guillotined on a charge of *incivisme*, based on his turning arable land into pasture, which was interpreted as betraying a desire to embarrass the Republic by producing a famine.

There does not seem to be any foundation for Mr. Austen-Leigh's belief that Eliza herself barely escaped a like fate. As far as can be discovered from her letters—though in those to her cousin there is a gap between October 1792 and September 1796—and those of Mr. Woodman, she spent the two years of suspense in England, principally paying visits to relatives, and especially those at Steventon Rectory, to whom she felt herself more and more closely drawn.

"I always tenderly loved my Uncle," she says, "but think he is now dearer to me than ever...Cassandra and Jane are both very much grown, (the latter is now taller than myself), and greatly improved as well in manners as in Person...They are, I think, equally sensible, and both so to a degree seldom met with, but still my Heart gives the preference to Jane, whose kind partiality to me, indeed, requires a return of the same nature. Henry is now rather more than six Foot high, I believe. He is also much improved, and is certainly endowed with uncommon abilities, which indeed seem to have been bestowed, though in a different way, upon each member of this Family."

When the series of letters begins again in 1796, the Austen family divide Eliza's attention with her pugs. She already possesses "an amiable Terrier," presented by her coachman, but she writes to Philadelphia,

"I once more thank you for your *puggish* intentions in my favour, and wish that you may be able to realise them, though to say the truth I am already possessed of one of these bewitching animals. I shall joyfully receive as many more Pugs as you can procure for me. You would laugh to see me consulting my doctor about my dog."

Her cousin's ecstasies over pugs failed, however, to deceive the astute Philadelphia, who had for some time been prophesying a second marriage for her. She has heard that Henry Austen was disappointed in love, and to baffle her inquiries Eliza invents a pretty, wicked-looking girl with bright black eyes, a most intolerable flirt, to whom his trouble is due. But Philadelphia persists, and Eliza makes a half-confession.

"I do not believe the *parties* will ever come together; not however, that they have quarrelled, but one of them cannot bring her mind to give up dear Liberty and yet dearer Flirtation. After a few months' stay in the Country she sometimes thinks it possible to undertake sober Matrimony, but a few weeks' stay in London convinces her how little the state suits her taste."

In the next letter her "impulse in favour of Liberty and disfavour of a Lord and Master" is still irresistible, but her thoughts run on weddings. "Mr. Pitt's match with Miss Eden," the Princess Royal's with the Prince of Württemberg, and Miss Farren's with Lord Derby, are all commented upon, the last with high scorn. Then we hear that:—

"Captain Austen has just spent a few days in town. I suppose you know that our Cousin Henry is now Captain, Paymaster and Adjutant. He is a very lucky young man, and bids fair to possess a considerable share of riches and Honours. I believe he has now given up all thought of the Church, and he is right, for he is certainly not so fit for a Parson as a Soldier."

But lest this approval should lead to presumption, she hastens to assure her friend that she believes the match will never take place, and thinks the young man ill-used, proving the hardness of her heart by making a journey to Cheltenham with a Miss Payne, a friend of her childhood, and their respective pugs. She pays a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Hastings at Daylesford, which she describes as really a little Paradise, "the House fitted up with a degree of Taste and Magnificence rarely to be met with." The next letter is dated "Lowestoffe," and in it she defends herself smartly against Philadelphia's charge of having gone there for the sake of seeing Henry, whose corps is quartered at Norwich. Three months later she talks of leaving London, ostensibly on account of the new taxes which have raised her rent and will force her to give up her carriage, but when she writes next she signs herself "Eliza Austen." Incurrible to the last, she sends kind messages from "*my cousin* (I have an aversion to the word *husband* and never make use of it.)"

To Hastings she had written, on December 26th 1797, in a very different strain:—

"Dear Sir,—As I flatter myself you still take an interest in my welfare, I think it incumbent on me to acquaint you with a circumstance by which it must be materially influenced. I have consented to an union with my cousin, Captain Austen, who has the honour of being known to you. He has been for some time in possession of a comfortable income, and the excellence of his heart, temper and understanding, together with his steady attachment to me, his affection for my little boy, and disinterested concurrence in the disposal of my Property in favour of this latter have at length induced me to an acquiescence which I have withheld for more than two years. Need I say, my dear Sir, that I most earnestly wish for your approbation on this occasion, and that it is with the sincerest attachment I shall ever remain,

"Your much obliged and affectionate God-daughter, Elizabeth de Feuillide.

"I beg leave to present my affectionate Compts. to Mrs. Hastings.

Henry Austen, who thus attained his heart's desire, was the brilliant and erratic exception in the solidly satisfactory Austen family. Fascinating and sanguine, possessing great conversational powers, he had tried the

patience of his parents by entering on several professions, and settling to none. That Hastings had repeatedly befriended him is shown by his grateful letters, in one of which, alluding to the admiration of his parents for his benefactor, he says "Among the earliest lessons of my infancy I was taught by precept and example to love and venerate your name," When he broke loose finally, as Eliza thought, from the Church, for which his family had destined him, he appears to have combined banking with the duties of an officer in the militia.

Of their life in country quarters at Ipswich, when the country was agitated by fears of a French invasion, his wife gives an amusing description, but when he was ordered to Dublin, she remained at Dorking with her son, whose brief life was a series of illnesses and temporary recoveries. The boy died in 1801, and the letter in which she answers Philadelphia's condolences is the last of the collection from which we have so largely quoted. There are two among the Hastings Papers, undated, and wrongly bound up with documents of 1818, which must belong to this period, one accompanying the gift of a cup and saucer, painted by herself, and the other regretting that she had missed seeing her godfather when in town.

Mr. Austen-Leigh tells us that she and Henry went to France after the Peace of Amiens, hoping to recover the Comte de Feuillide's property, which she had heard in 1797 would be restored to her if she applied for it in person. The result of the application is not stated, but on the sudden renewal of the war Henry and Eliza narrowly escaped the fate which overtook so many other English travellers. Her excellent French enabled her to pass as a native, and her husband remained silent while she gave the orders at the post-houses, so that they reached neutral soil before they could be seized and detained.

Jane Austen's letters contain descriptions of several visits paid to them in London, and of the musical parties which Eliza got up among her French friends, notably one at which the crowd was so great that Jane sat outside in the passage. London life was probably much more to Eliza's taste than the country parsonage which Philadelphia had pictured for her, promising to come and pay her frequent visits, and prevent her and her spouse from quarrelling or going to sleep, but after her death in 1813 Henry returned to his first love, and took holy orders.

Living in London, he acted as Jane's literary agent, and on the publication of '*Pride and Prejudice*,' sent a copy to Hastings, who returned, as Jane tells us, a letter full of delight. Eliza's marriage had been only an additional link between the aged Proconsul and the Hampshire clergyman's family. Fifty years earlier, his dear and only son had been confided to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Austen, and at his death mourned as a child of their own, and the bond thus formed was never broken.

SYDNEY C. GRIER.

Revenue History of a Bengal Pargana.

THE early revenue history of Bengal is lost in obscurity. It is, however, known that a systematic account of revenue was kept by Crown Officers independently of the Zemindars and submitted to the Dewan or Chief Revenue Officer in a Subah or Province. The Kanungo was an important and responsible officer during the Muhammadan times. We find in a "Report of the offices of the Kanungoes' office" dated 4th May 1787 (1) as follows:—

"They (Cannungoes) kept a Tuxeem (taksim) account of their respective Parganas, which specified the revenues village by village according to the distribution or division of lands, for in the 15th year of the reign of Akbar when Raja Todar Mull and Muzaffar Khan were appointed to the joint administration of the office of Vizier, it appears that they collected from the Kanungoes the Tuxeem account of the Empire and having regulated the assessment by an estimate of the produce of the lands formed a new Jumma which was called Tumaree probably from being entered in the Rolls of the Empire, Tumaree signifying literally a Roll."

It appears therefore, that the revenue system was an organised one even before the historic assessment by Raja Todarmull, which was based on the previous records. In a letter of the Collector of Bhagulpore dated the 6th December 1787 and published as an Appendix to the Fifth Report sixteen different registers are mentioned as being maintained by Kanungoes. Grant accepts partially "the plausible story of Cossim Ali having destroyed or carried away with him on his expulsion all the material archives of the exchequer", and the papers referred to by Grant in his Analysis "contained in about twenty volumes of Persian ferds or accounts of revenue prior to the era of the Dewany procured through the influence of a light & private purse." But these records were not systematically preserved during later chaotic days of the Muhammadan rule in Bengal & were not handed over to the English when they assumed the Dewany in 1765 A.D. The result was the uncertainty of the foreign rulers to arrive at a proper & equitable estimation of the resources of the territories taken over by them & the consequent controversy that was raised over the matter. All revenue records subsequent to Todar Mull's rent-roll showed the 'Tumar Jama'. Assessment in Tumar Jama resembled according to Grant the Domesday Valuation of England. Sir John Shore in his Minute quoted in Appendix I to the Fifth Report traced the variations of the Tumar Jama by Todar Mull to the assessment of Cossim Ali in 1763. But he does not give the details regarding the component

(1) P. 163 "Studies in the Land Revenue History of Bengal" R. B. Ramsbotham.

parts *viz.* of different Parganas. Grant has given minuter details and as Archdeacon Firminger aptly remarks: "It is to his treatises every student of Bengal and Behar History must turn when he undertakes to recover the past history of any given district within those provinces". But even Grant's Analysis does not go enough into the details to trace the variations of revenue within a particular Pargana. Whether this was due to the absence of materials before him or to a desire of not encumbering his voluminous Analysis is not known. Any record containing details regarding variations of revenue in a Pargana would, perhaps, be of considerable interest to a student of revenue history of Bengal. In the Mymensingh Collectorate there is such a revenue record regarding Pargana Atia which lies in the modern districts of Mymensingh, Pabna & Dacca. The record begins from 1113 B.S. (1706 A.D.) to 1142 B.S. (1735 A.D.) or 30 years prior to the assumption of the Dewany by the English. The record is in Bengali, but the terms are mostly Persian and contains, in the words of Grant, "a technical jargon of obscure, but not always of unmeaning words."

The heading of the paper begins "Moázíná-Dehá bedehi Pargana Atiá Sarkár Bájuhái Sanáwati". The term "Moazina or 'Mowazinah' has been explained by Mr. Patterson in his report as "records which state and particularize the quantity of land in actual cultivation and the quantity uncultivated or waste...the Jumma or sum assessed &c. &c." In this particular record, however, only the revenue or Jumma assessed is shown but other particulars *viz.* quantity of land &c. are not found. The term "Deha Bedehi" is not clearly understood probably it means village by village, *i.e.*, "of all component villages"—Deh meaning a village. Sarkar Bajuhai is mentioned as one of the Sarkars in Bengal in the Ayeen Akbari, comprising mostly of Parganas ending with the terminal 'Bazu' *viz.* Barabazu, Pratapbazu &c. The word 'Bazu' has been explained by Professor Blochman as literally meaning 'an arm' hence a portion. Atia is not separately mentioned in the Ayeen but we have the entry "Burbazoo, Nusseetshahy and Mehrownah Kharana Heranah and Serally, Mahls 5". It is probable that Atia was a component part of 'Burbazoo' for laterly in Grant's Analysis we find "Ateah Cagmarry Burbazoo Hussenshahy in the Chuckleh of Ghoragaut constituting 3 Zamindaries". This leads to the assumption that Atia and Cagmarry—the two well-known Parganas of the present day were possibly carved out in later days from Mehrownah, Kharana, Heranah and Serally as no mention of them are found in later papers or at present.

Next we find from the record that Atia is comprised of Mouzas and Mahals numbering 743 *viz.* 726 Mouzas and 17 Mahals, Mouza is a village yielding a revenue being distinguished from Mahals or other sources of revenue. The entry below Mouza and Mahal is "Kát tan Rájá Todar Mull tan 17683—5 annas 9½ gandas Mináhawar". This probably means that Tankha or Rupees 17,683-5 annas 9½ gandas is revenue according to Raja Todar Mull's assessment including those of the dismembered portions, the word 'Minha' meaning deductions. We have no basis for testing these figures shown as revenue with those of Ayeen Akbari for as stated

before, the Ayeen does not show this Pargana. So far regarding the heading.

Next on the first page we have the usual name of the God "Ram" denoting that the writer was a Hindu. Below that is written "Sanwati Pargana Atia". In the corner we have "Moáziná 1 rupee 9 annas" denoting that the record has 25 leaves, below that 1 rupee 10 annas showing that it has 26 leaves including the heading. Next below is 'Ing Dehar Farda rupees thirty one annas ten only' this probably means that the statement regarding *Deha* or village contained 506 leaves. This shows that this record had with it a village by village account which unfortunately is not found, and probably explains "Deha Bedehi" of the heading.

Below the heading page is the page for year 1311 B.S. This shows as in the heading the number of Mouzas and Mahals and the revenue according to Raja Todar Mull's settlement. Below that is shown "Minawaran", i.e. deductions on account of disbursements *viz.* of 241 Mouzas and Mahals and their revenue. Deducting this amount from the total revenue Rs. 14,420-2 annas $13\frac{3}{4}$ gandas is shown as revenue for the remaining 502 Mouzas and Mahals. Below that is entry "Hasil Moafi Takseem Rs. 11,873-1 anna $2\frac{3}{4}$ gandas." The term "Hasil Moafi Takseem" probably means the present Jama according to Tuckseem. Tuckseem is the constituent parts of the Tumar Jama (2). The Tuckseem Jama was the actual revenue payable or rather the current revenue and the Tumar Jama was shown for the purpose of comparison and testing the current revenue. The difference in Tumar and Tuckseem Jama may be due to deductions owing to assignments in the name of "Mir Jumla" which as will be seen later on is Rs. 3,125 including "Kasur" at the rate of Rs. 15 and odd. The detail of Tuckseem Jama is then given as "Asal Rupees 10,233-annas 9, Kasur fi-sad Rs. 16 annas nil $5\frac{1}{2}$ gandas—Rupees 1,639 annas nil $8\frac{1}{2}$ gandas". 'Asal' is original rent exclusive of subsequent cesses, 'Kasur' is an item of the abwab formerly levied as part of the *Dehkurcha* or village charges to make up the deficiency of the rupee collected in the Mofussil or interior of the country which under the Moghul Government were required to be paid into the Treasury at an equal standard (3). "Fi-sad" means per hundred. Next are the details of 'Asal' and 'Kasur' regarding the Mouzas which fall under *Mal Jahat* as distinguished from *Sayar Jahat*. The pages for succeeding years are merely repetition of entries till we come to 1118 B.S. (1711 A.D.). In this year we find the Jama as Rs. 12,108-1 anna $2\frac{3}{4}$ gandas made up of Guzástá (former revenue) Rs. 11,873-1 anna $2\frac{3}{4}$ gandas with Ijáfá (increase on Hustabad) Darun (on account of) Ali Shahi Rs. 235". Probably it is the impost referred to as Circar Ali in Grant's Analysis. Next in 1119 B.S. we have Kharij or dismemberment of one Mouza, & again Todar Mull's Jama is shown & the deduction on account of this Mouza is shown in Todar

(2) Sir John Shore's Minute, p. 4, Vol. II. Archdeacon Firminger's edition of the Fifth Report.

(3) Wilkin's Glossary to the Fifth Report.

Mull's Jama as well as in the Tuckseem Jama. This supports Francis's assertion 'that in all cases of transfers of property amongst Zemindars, the new Sanads are taken out on the Tumar Jama. The increase of Rs. 235 is not however, apportioned to the dismembered Taluk but wholly added to the Parganas.

Next in 1121 B.S. to the Guzasta of Rs. 235 is added an increase of Ejafa Mir Jumla of Rs. 3,125-7 annas, $2\frac{1}{2}$ gandas thus making the total Sewaya (increased) Rs. 3,360-7 annas $2\frac{1}{2}$ gandas. Thus the total revenue is Rs. 15,151-13-4 gds. Probably this refers to resumption of some Jaigir lands held in the name of Mir Jumla the great General of Aurangzeb and the revenue added to the Royal Exchequer. Next in the accounts of 1123 to 1126 B.S. Khalsa revenue is shown as Rs. 14,318-8 annas 5 gandas owing to a deduction of Rs. 833-5 annas on account of "Jaigir Nawab", which was probably another resumption of an assignment for the support of the Nawab of Bengal. The term Khalsa meaning Exchequer revenue is here introduced probably to distinguish from 'Jaigir' or revenue appropriated for the maintenance of officers of Government. In 1127 B.S. to this is added 'Ejafa Hundian' of Rs. 888-5-10 gds. making total revenue Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. 'Ejafa Hundian' means probably additions on account of Bills of exchange for transmission of revenue to the capital. In 1128 B.S. 'Mokra Jama Hasil Mai Sheoai' is shown at the same figure of Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. with the detail that the *Asal* including *Kasur* Rs. 11,791-4-12 $\frac{1}{2}$ gds. and Sheoai according to Guzasta Rs. 4,248-12-12 $\frac{1}{2}$ gds. This is continued in subsequent years till 1141 B.S. In 1142 B.S. the Khalisa revenue is shown as Rs. 15,206-13-15 gds. This is due to reassignment of Rs. 833-5 annas on account of 'Jaigir Nawab' as in 1123 B.S. to 1126 B.S.

In Grant's Analysis we find the following entry:—

Ateah in Circar Bazoochai on the confines of Dacca * * * * *

1. Ausil Jama exclusive of portions elsewhere accounted for	...	...	16,041
2. Net Ausil & Abwab on the same territory to 1172 before the Dewany	...	...	47,404
3. Net Ausil & Abwab in 1172 settled by M. R. Khan	...	...	48,500
4. Gross medium settlement of the same territory in 1184 A.D.	...	...	38,130

It would be seen the revenue shown in the record under reference agrees with that shown in Col. 1 above.

It would however appear that the revenue was increased between 1127 B.S. (1720 A.D.) to 1171 B.S. (1764 A.D.) from Rs. 16,041 to Rs. 47,404. The increase would appear to be very excessive. It is however explained by some copies of Tuxeem papers of 1168 and 1169 B.S. which were filed by the Zamindars at the time of Resumption proceedings prior to the revenue surveys. In a petition filed by the Zamindars of Pargana Atia in connection with the proceedings it is seen that the

Zamindars were in possession of Pargana Atia, Azimabad, Alepshahi and portion of Eusufshahi. Copies of Tuxeem papers of all the Parganas excepting the last were filed along with the petition. In these papers the Jama of Pargana Atia including increases is shown as Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. and Asul Jama including Kasur is shown as Rs. 11,791-6-3 gds. & the increase including Hundian is shown as Rs. 4,248-14-2 gds. The figures exactly correspond with the figures under similar heads in the record we are dealing with.

To this if we take into consideration the revenues of the two other Parganas *viz.* Azimabad & Alepshahi we get as follows—Atia Rs. 16,040-2-15 gds. Azimabad Rs. 1,828-4-18 gds. Alepshahi Rs. 8,544-13-17 gds. Total Rs. 26,413-4-10 gds. As regards Eusufshahi we have got no Tuxeem records, but in Grant's Analysis we have the Jania of Eusufshahi in 1135 B.S. excluding the dismemberments to be Rs. 25,167. This will bring us very nearly to the figures in col. 2 the difference being explained by some dismemberment between 1135 to 1172 B.S. It is interesting to note that the names of Parganas Alepshahi appears in the Ayeeen but in the Grant's Analysis we have no mention of Alepshahi whereas there is mention of Atia and Eusufshahi. Again Pargana Azimabad finds no mention in any of these. In Rennell's map Atia is shown as a district with Parganas Atia and Alepshahi. The latter occupying an area in Madhupur Jungles of the present Atia Pargana. During Revenue Survey the Zamindars wanted the villages appertaining to the 4 Parganas to be shown separately under them. The authorities decided that as only Atia Pargana was mentioned in Quinquennial papers and as the villages are the real units of the estate it was unnecessary to group them under the Parganas claimed. Now coming to the present subject it appears from a statement accompanying letter from Collector of Mymensingh to the Board of Revenue dated 15-3-1792, that the revenue in 1183 B.S. (1776 A.D.) was Rs. 56,856 from which reduction of Rs. 18,725 was made in 1184 B.S. (1177 A.D.) giving a net revenue of Rs. 38,131 which corresponds with that shown by Grant. This was probably the settlement made by the Committee of Circuit. In 1188 B.S. or 1781 A.D. the revenue was increased by Rs. 16,000. This gives Rs. 54,131 as revenue. On this there was increase of Rs. 500 in 1192 B.S. (1785 A.D.) giving a net revenue of Rs. 54,631. From this there is a reduction of Rs. 64 on account of a Taluq separated thus giving net revenue of Rs. 54,567. The Pargana was next annexed to Mymensingh district from Murshidabad. In the proposals of settlement submitted by Mr. Wroughton in his letter dated 12th February 1788 we find the Jama to be Rs. 51,837. This is probably owing to a deduction of 5% on account of some temporary causes. In 1197 B.S. (1790 A.D.) the revenue of 1785 was reverted to & after a deduction of Rs. 2,085 for the Sayar duties abolished in that year, the revenue was fixed at Rs. 52,482.

Next we will see whether the increases made had any connection with the actual receipts. That was certainly so will appear from another statement which is a Goswara Jama Khuruch of 1198 B.S. (1791 A.D.) or

statement of collection and expenditure as shown below at the time when the Estate was under the management of Government:—

Gross collection	...	...	Rs. 64,423	1	11
Deduct Sebundy allowance	...	...	„ 6,072	0	0
Balance remaining	...	...	„ 58,351	1	11
Deduct Zemindar's Mossoharrah (allowance)					
including his Savar Musaharah	...	...	„ 5,494	9	4 (4)
Net Balance	...	...	„ 52,856	8	7
Deduct Sadar Jama	...	...	„ 52,482	12	3
Kaffiat or Profit	...	...	„ 373	12	4

Subsequently at the time of Decennial Settlement *i.e.*, in 1198 B.S. or 1791—92 A.D. the revenue was fixed at Rs. 54,058-2-0 owing to an increase of Rs. 1,575 on account of nij Taluks. This revenue was made permanent. The foregoing will, I think, set at rest the contention put forward now-a-days that the permanent settlement was made for a lump sum irrespective of the gross collection & in disregard to it. It is unfortunate that in the record under reference the account paper of village by village is not forthcoming. This would have shown how the total assessment was arrived at and the mode of calculation of revenue during the years 1706 to 1735 covered by the record. But in the copy of tuxeem account of 1168 B.S. referred to above we have the accounts for villages; they show that there were variations in Asal Jama of villages due probably to increase or decrease of collection due to extension or decrease of cultivation on which there is the rateable increase on account of the abwab assessment. Most of these villages as far as I have seen agree with the villages shown in the quinquennial papers of 1202 B.S. This proves that the unalterable units of assessment were the villages whose numbers were invariably shown in these revenue records, and scrupulously accounted for in case of additions and dismemberments. On the other hand it raises doubt in the contention that the units of settlement in Mogul and British period were parganas for we have seen that the parganas were variable in extent and boundaries capable of dismemberment and amalgamation.

It further appears that the mention of names of Parganas in the old revenue records were simply for the purpose of appellation of a Zemindari estate most of which in the case of recently created ones were named after the names of the original founders such as Sherpur, Mominsingh, Mamudabad, Burbuckpur, whereas the smaller units *viz.*, talukdari estates were invariably named after the names of the creators of the taluks or after the names of the most important village in it.

J. N. GHOSE.

(4) The amount is arrived at this, proprietary allowance at 1/11 of Rs. 58,351 equal to Rs. 5,304 plus 1/11 on abolished Sayer revenue of Rs. 2,085 or Rs. 190 total Rs. 5,494.

The Editor's Note Book.

WE have a discovery to chronicle, which should be dear to all lovers of Hickey and his heroines. In "Sketches of India written by an Officer for Fire-Side Travellers At Home", there is an undoubted reference to a portrait of Pott's Emily. The officer is Captain Moyle Sherer, a Winchester boy (see page 267 of the book), who was at Calcutta in 1819, sailing from Madras early in June of that year. On page 106 of the third edition (1825) he writes.

"In the cabinet of a portrait-painter in Calcutta, among a few valueless pictures is one, which must often, I should think, awaken a sigh in such of our fair countrywomen as look on it. I have little excuse for mentioning it here; but it is somehow naturally associated with beauty and sorrow. With beaver hat, and clustering ringlets, marking the costume of some forty years gone by, from a damaged canvass in a dull-worn frame, looks out upon you a face of such soft loveliness, that you feel no surprise when told it is that of a devoted and tender mistress, who left the country of which she was the flower, and came with her protector here; still less that she drooped and died upon this sickly shore. On a tufted knoll (near the mouth of the river she entered only as a corpse) stands the small tomb, which love, grief, and repentance have raised to her memory".

In whose cabinet was it that Sherer saw the canvass? The leading painter of that time was incontestably George Chinnery, who flourished in Calcutta from 1808 to 1825. The other artists in 1817 were John Barrois (miniature painter); J. Belnos (miniature painter, arrived 1807); Lewis Contestabili (portrait painter); F. Desbruslais (miniaturist and cabinet maker, who died at Chandernagore in 1828, aged 57 years and 8 months, after a residence of 38 years in India, "a native of Britain in France"), Robert Home (arrived 1790 and deceased at Cawnpore in 1834, aged 83, painter to the King of Oude and resident at Lucknow); James Lock (miniature painter); Timothy Long (ditto); Thomas Morris (portrait painter) and J. Mosley (landscape painter, arrived 1812).

It seems natural that the owner of the cabinet would have been Chinnery. But of course he was not the painter, for Emily died before reaching the sickly shore of Bengal, off Culpee, where as Grand says (1766) "the Honourable Company's ships usually anchored". In the Errata and Notes to Hickey's Fourth Volume (p. 488), Mr. Spence states that Emily (variously surnamed Bertie, Coventry, Warren and Pott) was painted not only by Reynolds several times, but also by Romney, Sheriff and Dance. The beaver hat would go to show that the picture was painted in England. Presumably

Capt. Moyle Sherer's "Sketches of India."

The canvass he saw in a portrait-painter's cabinet in Calcutta, (1819).

The Calcutta painters at that period.

The portraits of Emily.

Pott brought out with him a portrait or portraits of his darling Emily, which after his death on June 22, 1795, found their way to Chinerry's studio; or even before, for Mrs. Pott (Sally Cruttenden) would hardly have tolerated a likeness of her predecessor.

When in 1825 Chinnery "had to bolt for China for £40,000 of debt", he doubtless left his old pictures behind and certainly would not have taken damaged canvasses with him. It is well known (see "Tom Raw" and elsewhere) that he had a quantity of lumber in his attic, which are presumably the other valueless pictures Sherer noticed. But is there no list of the pictures offered at Chinnery's sale, after his exit to China?

The words "some forty years gone by" coincide with the date of Emily's death which was in May 1782. As regards the "tufted knoll at the mouth of the river where the small tomb stood," it is stated in *B. P. and P.* (Vols. XXIV-XXVI) that there is at Culpee a masonry column, with no inscription visible, known locally as the tomb of Mana Bibi. "According to local tradition, a lady died on board one of the ships and was brought ashore for burial. She is said to have been Portuguese, but as the vernacular word for this could be Feringhee, we need be in no way committed to the nationality, nor need we feel debarred from identifying the monument with Pott's Folly".

The following note is by Sir Evan Cotton.

IN December 1910 a picture of the "Early English School" was offered for sale at Christie's under the following description: "81. Warren Hastings with his wife and Indian attendant in a garden: buildings and river in the distance, 40 inches by 51 inches." No painter's name was given. The description was clearly inaccurate. The male figure which is in a standing position bears no resemblance to Hastings. It is much too tall; the features, and also the shape of the head, are unlike; and the scarlet coat with black facings and gold epaulettes, is obviously a military costume. The lady, who is seated, has red-brown hair, large brown eyes, full lips, and a somewhat sensuous mouth. It is impossible to connect her with Mrs. Hastings. The river-scene which forms the background was thought by Lord Curzon to be the banks of the Hooghly. There is a pillared bungalow with a garden by the river side behind the figures, and a Mahomedan tomb or mosque and some buildings are seen on the other side of the river, which is narrow. Possibly the place represented is Chinsurah. The picture was reproduced in an early volume of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. II, Part I, p. 173), and also in the late Mr. Wilmot Corfield's *Calcutta Faces and Places*, as a supposed portrait of Colonel and Lady Anne Monson. No evidence is supplied to support the suggestion, but it is certainly more probable than the one which we have been discussing. Nevertheless it has lately been offered to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall as a portrait of Warren Hastings and his wife! It was put up once more at Christie's on March 19, 1920, and was then described as the work of A. W. Devis, which it may

A supposed portrait of Colonel and Lady Anne Monson.

very well be. Since then it would seem to have remained in the possession of a dealer.

The three following notes are by Sir William Foster.

TWO pictures of Indian interest were sold at Sotheby's on 30 June, 1926.

Indian Pictures
in the Sale Room.
"Zoffany's Cock-
Match".

The first was a full length portrait by Robert Home of the Marquess Wellesley, a replica of the picture now in Viceregal Lodge, Simla (the Yellow Drawing Room), but on a smaller scale. This fell to Mr. Francis Edwards at £20. The second was the famous Cock-Match picture, belonging to the Marquess of Tweeddale. The bidding was spirited, but in the end the painting was secured by Sir George Sutherland, late of Calcutta, for £760. It is believed to have been painted by Zoffany in England for Warren Hastings, to replace an earlier copy lost on the way home. At the Daylesford House sale in 1853 this canvas realised 215 guineas, and it was sold again in 1898 at Christie's for 210 guineas. The price it has now fetched is a measure of the increased popularity of Zoffany's compositions. The engraving by Richard Earlom is well known.

IN the beautiful cloisters of Wells Cathedral may be seen a tablet bearing the following inscription: "Mary, eldest daughter of Lord and Lady Francis Seymour. First married to John Hyde, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court at Calcutta: afterwards to John Payne, of Droxford, Hants, Esq." This memorial was erected by her second husband, whose name was subsequently added to the tablet.

Lord Francis Seymour was the fourth son of the eighth Duke of Somerset, and was Dean of Wells for thirty-three years.

The beautiful
Mrs. Hyde.

In 1749 he married Catherine, daughter of the Rev. Thomas Payne. Their daughter Mary wedded Mr. John Hyde on 1 September, 1773 and, upon his appointment to the Calcutta bench six months later, accompanied him to India. William Hickey, in his *Memoirs*, (vol. ii, p. 127) testifies that Mrs. Hyde was then 'a very lovely woman,' and later he says (p. 165): 'I generally went once a week to very pleasant musical parties at Mr. Hyde's, his lady being much attached to music, playing admirably herself and possessing an uncommon fine voice.' Busteded (*Echoes*, fourth edition, p. 126) quotes from Mackrabie's diary a passage referring in similar terms to Mrs. Hyde's beauty and to her Tuesday musical parties.

Justice Hyde succumbed to the Bengal climate on 8 July, 1796, at the age of fifty-nine, and was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery. His widow went home, and on 4 February, 1798, took a second husband, as already recorded. She died on 12 April, 1814, aged 62, and was interred in the new burial ground of the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, London. Mr. Payne survived until 10 March, 1819.

“IN *Bengal: Past and Present*, No. 59, Vol. XXX, Part i, p. 115, it was stated that search had been made in several libraries, but without success, for copies of the *Oriental Magazine*, or *Calcutta Amusement*, mentioned by Dr. Busteed in his list of early Calcutta newspapers. I find (writes Sir William Foster) that the publication of the first issue on 6 April, 1785 was announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the following day, and it was stated the journal would appear on the first Wednesday in each succeeding month. No 2 (for April) was advertised in the *Gazette* of 12 May, but no reference has been found to any later issue. The inference is that the journal failed to attract, and consequently was discontinued. This would account for the non-preservation of the two odd parts.” Mr. W. H. Carey in “*The Good Old Days of John Company*” states that on the 6th April 1785 was published by Messrs. Gordon and Hay the first number of the “*Oriental Magazine or Calcutta Amusements*” (plural), a monthly. Busteed (Fourth Edition, p. 183) adds that in the first number is given “an elegant engraving of the late Governor-General with some account of his life and transactions.”

THE connection of Bass' beer with India is well known, but it is not generally known that Michael Thomas Bass (1799-1884) the famous brewer and for 35 years Liberal M. P. for Derby, married the daughter of one of John Company's officers. On Dec. 8, 1835 he led to the altar Eliza Jane, eldest daughter of the late Major Samuel Arden, 27th B. N. I., a member of the family of Arden of Longcrofts, co. Stafford. Samuel entered the Bengal Army in 1798, was a Cadet in 1799, Lieutenant April 21, 1800, Captain Feb. 22, 1814, and Major May 12, 1820, dying at Saugor Oct. 18, 1822. His wife was Jane, daughter of James Franklyn, Esq. merchant of Bristol and M. P. for Poole; and their second daughter Anne married George Maitland of the Bengal Civil Service. His branch of the Arden family is connected with the Ardens of Park Hall, co. Warwick and it is an interesting fact that Shakespeare's mother Mary Arden of Wilmcote was the daughter of Sir Edward Arden of Park Hall, a first cousin of another Edward Arden (1542-1583) High Sheriff of Warwickshire in 1575, a zealous Roman Catholic and supporter of Mary Queen of Scots, who set out for London in 1583 on the errand of shooting Queen Elizabeth, whom he vituperated as a serpent and a viper. He was arrested and racked, confessed and was hanged at Tyburn in October 1583 and his head with that of his son-in-law John Somerville set on London Bridge beside the skull of the Earl of Desmond. The grandfather of the Miss Arden who married Bass the brewer was Alatheia, daughter of Robert Cotton, of Worcester. Mr. George Barnett Smith, the writer of the article on Michael Thomas Bass in the D. N. B. does not refer to his marriage with Miss Arden but emphasises and rightly the fact that for 50 years Bass & Co. confined their trade in bitter beer to India.

The still-born
“*Oriental Maga-
zine or Calcutta
Amusement.*”

Bass' beer and
India. Mr. Bass'
wife, daughter of
an officer of John
Company.

Shakespeare's
mother an Arden.

THERE were several Ardens besides Samuel in the Company's Military Service; Russell Arden, Lieutenant in the Bengal Army Sept. 15, 1768 who commanded the Militia Sepoys at Dacca and resigned Oct. 15, 1776, and George Arden, of the 4th Bombay N. I., Cadet 1804, Ensign June 20, 1805, Lieutenant Dec. 25, 1806, Captain May 4, 1820, Major Sept. 11, 1828, invalided Dec. 16, 1829 and retired Nov. 30, 1830 in India. Another Arden, John Humphrey Cotton, eldest son of Major John Arden of the 3rd or King's Own Dragoons, the elder brother of Major Samuel, also died in India. The most interesting holder of the name is undoubtedly Richard Pepper Arden (1745-1804), first and last Baron Alvanley and the "little Peppy" of

Thurlow's Reminiscences, who had the good fortune when he took chambers in Lincoln's Inn to live on the same staircase as William Pitt. He figures frequently in Thomas Raikes' Journal and died Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being buried in the Rolls Chapel. He was like the present Lord Chief Justice of England and Lord Bradbury educated at Manchester Grammar School and was there for 11 years. In 1759 the elder boys acted Addison's tragedy of "Cato" and it is remarkable that of the ten scholars one became L. C. J. (Arden), one Vice Principal of B. N. C. (Rev. James Heap), two Archdeacons of Richmond (Travis and Bower), one Senior Wrangler (William Arnold, 1766) and one Recorder of Chester (Foster Bower). Arden was himself Twelfth Wrangler in 1766 and the Second Wrangler of that year,

Bishop Law, always remembered with bitterness the defeat he sustained from a 'Manchester School' boy. Edmund Law his father (1702-1787) was Bishop of Carlisle, and he himself Bishop of Bath and Wells. His younger brother Edward Law, born in 1750, the fourth son of Bishop Edmund, was Captain of Charterhouse and in 1771 Third Wrangler and Senior Chancellor's Prizeman. Warren Hastings was recommended by Sir Thomas Rumbold to engage Law, who was his brother-in-law, to defend him at his Trial (1788-1795) and Law who had been only called to the Bar in 1780, acquitted himself with such ability that he obtained a large increase of practice. He became M. P. for Newtown, Isle of Wight, and in 1802 was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench and raised to the peerage as Baron Ellenborough of Ellenborough, in the county of Cumberland. He died Dec. 13 1818, leaving a fortune of £240,000 and was buried by his own request at the Charterhouse, near the grave of Thomas Sutton, the founder (1532-1611). His eldest son Edward was appointed Governor General of India in 1841, and for his services was created in 1844 Earl of Ellenborough and Viscount Southam.

CONCERNING Beer, Captain Thomas Williamson Author of the "Wild Sports of the East" writes in Vol. II of the East India Vade-Mecum (1810). "Porter, pale-ale and table-beer of great strength are often drank after meals; all these are found in the utmost perfection; for indifferent malt-liquors

Captain William-
son's Vade-Mecum
on Beer.

do not stand the voyage; and even should they arrive in a sound state, would meet no sale. A temporary beverage, suited to the very hot weather, and called "country-beer", is in rather general use, though water, artificially cooled, is commonly drank during the repasts; in truth, nothing can be more gratifying at such a time, but especially after eating curry. Country-beer is made of about one-fifth part porter, or beer, with a wine glass full of toddy (or palm-wine, which is the general substitute for yeast), a small quantity of brown sugar, and a little grated ginger, or the dried peel of Seville oranges, or of limes; which are a small kind of lemon, abounding in citric acid, and to be had very cheap". In an advertisement of Messrs. Davidson and Wilson on Sept. 24, 1801, seven kinds of malt liquor are named; pale-ale, small beer, brilliant beer, strong porter, light porter, brown stout. Sophia Goldborne talks in Hartly House of "small-beer, perry, and cyder, from my native country; and fine spruce-beer, the produce of Bengal".

BUT Tea and Tea-Clubs ran Bear close at a later date, judging from a waggish correspondent in the Government Gazette for April 15, 1819. "Calcutta is likely to be more distinguished for its Clubs than its Masonic Institutions. The Tea Club is expected to suit the public taste to a Tea. Several supplementary regulations have been adopted and among them the most judicious is that the member who slops the table or spillesh hot beverage in his neighbour's lap shall forfeit two annas. Another Club has been started under the mysterious denomination of *Obscure*, and as the *Lunatics* meet at the full of the moon, it is probable that the *Obscures* will meet at the *change*, contented to remain in a sort of eclipse." Sophia Goldborne gives a curious side-light on the habits of tea-drinkers of her time in England (1789) which happily was not followed in Bengal. "I drank my tea," she says with a degree of satisfaction unknown in England in large companies: for, Arabella, instead of the *exchanges* (a most alarming and disgusting idea) to which you are there exposed, it is the delightful and sensible custom at Calcutta, for a bearer to convey your cup, when empty, to the consumer, without once letting it go out of his hand; and of course returns it to you secure from every possibility of contamination. I think I was never so pleased with any one article of polite etiquette in my whole life."

From an old number of the *Pioneer* we extract the following gem.

"AMONG the effects of Messrs. Streeter and Co., Limited, which were to be sold by Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods on the 22nd February (1909), was the famous Agra diamond, itself sufficient to give the sale a unique interest. This diamond derives its name from the fact that it was taken on the battle of Agra in 1526 by the Emperor Baber, who was the founder of the Mogul Empire in India. The modern history of the diamond was

His recipe for making "Country-beer, especially gratifying after curry."

"The Tea Club is expected to suit the public taste to a Tea."

The "exchanges" (a most alarming and disgusting idea).

The Agra Diamond "swallowed by a horse in 1857."

told to Mr. Streeter in the summer of 1896 by the Marquis of Donegal, and it is as follows. The Marquis remarked that he was in Agra in 1857 when the diamond was taken from the King of Delhi, being at the time engaged as secretary and belonging to the same regiment as the young officer who obtained possession of the diamond. It was resolved amongst them to smuggle it home to England rather than give it up and share in the loot money. The question arose, how were they to get it home? No one seemed to be able to hit upon a method that would be likely to meet with success until the last evening previous to the departure of the regiment. During the course of dinner the youngest subaltern suddenly jumped up and said, "I have it; we will conceal the diamond in a horse ball and make the horse swallow it." This met with general approbation, a ball was secured, the inside scooped out, the diamond inserted, and end stopped up, and the horse made to swallow it. When the regiment reached the port for embarkation the horse was taken ill, and had to be shot. The diamond was taken from his stomach and brought over to England. It was subsequently sold to the Duke of Brunswick, and since then it has been recut from a 46 carats stone to a $31\frac{1}{2}$ carats in order to get rid of the black spots in it, and it is now the most perfect and brilliant diamond of a lovely rose pink colour."

"THE year 1815 had been a death dealing one to the Thackerays in Bengal. It opened with the news that the younger brother of Richmond Thackeray was fallen in a desperate fight in Nepal. On August 14 Richmond headed the funeral procession of his cousin Henry to the military burial-ground in the southern suburb of Calcutta. And now within a month, on September 13, Richmond was himself carried forth for burial." So writes Sir William Hunter, and the passage (with more) is quoted in the preface to "the Ritchies in India" (1920) with the comment "Rigorous accuracy is one of Sir William's characteristics."

BUT Hunter, though an admirable writer, did not always trouble to verify his references. In this case he went no further than the Bengal obituary (1848), which gives the year of Henry Thackeray's death as 1815 and mis-spells the name Thackery. Had he cared to visit the Bhowanipore Cemetery, he would have found the date to be 1813; and it is correctly recorded in Mr. C. R. Wilson's List of Tombs for Bengal as well as in the chapter on the Calcutta Cemeteries, contributed by ourselves to Sir Evan Cotton's "Calcutta Old and New" (1907). The passage is worth recalling.

Hunter's "The Thackerays in India" (1897) and Anno Domini 1815.

Henry cousin of Richmond Thackeray, obit 1813 and not 1815.

BUT the sun is now high in the heavens. Let us leave the dwellers in these sad settlements along Park Street and Circular Road to their daily spell of silence and repose. Another day we will wend to the old Military Cemetery at Bhowanipore (opened in 1782) and stand before the grave of Henry W. M. Thackeray, Surgeon of the Bengal Artillery (1813) whose tomb was a tribute of gratitude from the pupil to the master. He sleeps there in strange company with Captain Donald Macintyre (1809), a native of Lochawside, Argyleshire "and late of the Mahratta service"; with the child of Mrs. Esther Leach (1828) a serjeant's wife, who was the greatest Calcutta actress of her day; with Eliza Bellamy, aged 74 (1844), "who followed for 34 years the profession of midwife in India", and at the other end of the scale Dr. Henry Harpur Spry, (1842) Fellow of the Royal Society".

THE inscription too would have appealed to Hunter. It runs "H. W. M. Thackeray, Surgeon, Bengal Artily, Act 45, Ob 14th Aug. 1813. When living I was thy pupil and thou my friend, To me those happy days have long, long since had an end. This is a tribute of gratitude from the pupil to the memory of his master." We would give a great deal to know the name of that grateful pupil.

IN a Review of Mr. F. H. Skrine's Life of Sir William Hunter "(Longmans) which appeared in the *Standard* for Nov. 20, 1901 are the following stories." "The anecdotes which enliven the biography are not always to be trusted. For instance, it is related that Lord Lytton being asked by a pretty Mrs. Birch whether he remembered no one of her name at Eton, replied that he did, but that his recollections of it were the reverse of pleasant. When the lady took him to task for speaking disrespectfully of her husband's family, His Excellency declared himself ready, we are told, to make amends, adding, "I have never felt so much inclined to kiss the rod as now." Lord Lytton, as it happens, was not at Eton but at Harrow; and what he said to the lady is incorrectly reported. Mr. Skrine, by-the-bye, omits to record an equally amusing and perhaps more authentic story about Sir W. Hunter. When collecting material for his Dictionary of Non-Aryan languages, Sir William, being in quest of a Sonthal equivalent for the verb "to strike" endeavoured to obtain it by asking a native policeman. Raising his stick, and assuming an attitude of fearful menace, he desired the trembling guardian of the peace to tell him what that meant in the Sonthal dialect. The literal translation of the reply given is 'a dead policeman', but it is entered in the Dictionary as the vernacular for 'to strike'. Years hence, no doubt, this little misunderstanding will suggest to some future Max Muller quite a new theory on the morphology of non-Aryan languages."

His comrades in the Military Cemetery Bhowanipore.

His tomb a tribute from the Pupil to the memory of his Master.

An apocryphal story of Lord Lytton and Mrs. Birch.

Sir William Hunter's resource. The Sonthal word for "strike" in his Dictionary.

THE ubiquitous Hickey (Vol. iv, p. 22) writes that the death of Mr. Thomas Davies (1792), the Advocate General who stayed in Bengal another season to accumulate money, thereby sacrificing his life "brought to my recollection an epitaph I had formerly read upon the tomb-stone of a Dutch gentleman at Sadras on the coast of Coromandel:

Mynheer Gludenstack lies interred here

Who intended to have gone home next year "

The only tomb-stone at Sadras which at all approximates to this description is that of Gustavas Gouds, boekhouder and Secunde desen Comptoire Sadraspatnam, originally not a Mynheer at all but born at Rofors in Zweeden Dec. 2, 1690, who died here December 22, Ao 1737, aged 47 years and 20 days. The tomb is of immense size, and the slab covering the grave bears a coat of arms not enclosed in any border, and below it these words. "Als de doode rust, soo laat ook zyne gedagtenisse rusten. Jesu Sirach 38, 24." The Song of the Son of Sirach is our Ecclesiasticus and in the Apocrypha, chapter 38 verse 23 (not 24) the verse reads "when the dead is at rest, let his remembrance rest." Then follow these lines, to which doubtless Hickey refers;

" Dies Zark Bedekt een Man
Die na Verlossing Haakte
Om Naar het Vaderland
Te Keeren, Maar de Dood
Sneed af Zyn Leven's Draad,
Soo Dat hy Hier Geraakte
In't Graf ter Zalige Rust.
De Ziel in Abram's Schoot
Geniet in Heerlykheyd
Verzadigd Door Aanschouwen,
Het Eeuwig Heyl, dat Wy
Verwagten en Vertrouwen."

Reduced to English, their literal meaning is, "This slab covers a man who longed after deliverance to return to his fatherland: but Death snipped the thread of his life, so that he got here into the grave in blessed rest. He possesses his soul in Abraham's bosom in glory, satisfied through beholding the eternal bliss that we await and trust in". The curious will find a facsimile of this inscription in Mr. Alex. Rea's *Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company* (1897) where it is Plate No. LI. Even the Hollanders did not always verify their references, for the dates of birth and death are both given on the stone as 22, whereas the day of birth was 2nd.

Hickey and the tomb-stone of Mynheer Gludenstack.

Gustavus Gouds tomb stone at Sadras.

Gustavus Goud's Epitaph at Sadras.

SADRAS is situated on the seashore in the Chingleput district 45 miles south of Madras. It is mentioned in "A New Account of East-India and Persia in Eight Letters being Nine Years Travels, Begun 1672, Finished 1681, by John Fryer M. D. Cantabrig and Fellow of the Royal Society." At page 24 of the 1698 Edition he writes, "Nearer this point we descried a Town, in which a castle overhanging it, and upon the highest Pinacle Dutch Colours, which high Noon gave us to be Sandrastapatan, a Factory of theirs, 10 Leagues to the South of Fort St. George, whose Soil is Fat and Opulent, like their Netherlands." Then follows "The View of Sandrastapatan" which is called in the margin "Sandrastapatan on the Main". "The Water here ran smooth and discoloured: till once again Committing ourselves to the Sea, we ploughed deeper Water, North-East, of a Caerulean dye". In the Index Explanatory under Names of Things we find the Dutch word Snee which occurs on Goud's tombstone in the expression "Snickersnee, Dutch Duelling", a quotation which we feel sure has escaped the Editors of the New English Dictionary.

JOHN COMPANY was long known as the most generous of masters; and the author of the Competition Wallah never tires of extolling the stupendous hospitality of India. A good example of the spirit which pervaded the community a century ago is shown by the following. "At a meeting of the Bobbery Hunt on Sunday last (October 21, 1810) the subscription for the orphan children of that most respected and lamented officer, the late Major Samuel Carter, was introduced, when with a liberality which reflects the highest honour on the members of that society and which is indeed above all praise, upwards of 10,000 rupees were contributed." This was in Western India, Major Carter being an officer of the Bombay Artillery, Cadet 1782 and Major 1808, who died September 11, 1810. There was another Samuel Carter who entered the Bengal army as a Cadet the same year, 1810, but died while still an Ensign in the 30th N.I. at Khoordah Dec. 27, 1817.

MR. SAMUEL MONTAGU has many titles to fame, but it is not generally known that when an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, he edited the Granta. He began his Editorship in the summer of 1900, working the first term in conjunction with Oliver Locker-Lampson of the same College, afterwards President of the A.D.C. Even in those days the spirit of reform was rampant, for the old familiar cover of the Granta was discarded and a new one designed (which is still used every week) by Seymour Lucas, son of the Royal Academician. A special May Week Number was produced and constituted one of the most ambitious on record, including contributions from Andrew Lang, Austin Dobson, Seymour Lucas, A. C. Benson, Edmond Gosse, Henry Newbolt and Kate Greenaway: but the credit of this number is really due to

Fryer's Account of
"Sandrastapatan
on the Main."

"Snickersnee,
Dutch Duelling."

A Hunt "Cap"
for Major Carter's
orphan children.

Mr. E. S. Montagu
as Editor of the
Granta, 1900-1.

Reforms the
Cover.

Locker-Lampson, whose brother Godfrey wrote the preface, using the longest words he could find. In Michaelmas 1900, Montagu took over the *Granta* completely. He was later on President of the Union and his contemporaries relate that during his term of Office he had a flag flown from the Union while he was in residence. Concerning which Frank Sidgwick (son of Arthur Sidgwick, for many years Fellow and Tutor of C. C. C. Oxford, and beloved by the whole college, by none more so than myself who lived in Ruskin's old rooms, next to his, in the Fellows' Buildings) wrote in the *Granta*, Oct. 25, 1902, under the pseudonym of Sigma Minor.

Flies a Flag as
President of the
Cambridge Union.

"But while here he is residing
In his rooms, the fountain fronting,
Learn the fact from me, confiding
In a simple piece of bunting.
Fear no more, nor sigh, nor chafe,
Now ye know when ye are safe."

Montagu had the good fortune in the Lent term of 1901 (when he was
Publishes the not up, J. C. Stobart of Harrow and Trinity being Joint-
300th Number. Editor) of publishing during his Editorship the 300th
number of the *Granta* (Feb. 4, 1901) an event which inspired a poem by
R. C. Lehmann, written as prose, under the title "To *Granta*, Aged 300
Numbers." Montagu's own efforts seem to have more editorial than
journalistic, for no specimen of his literary work is quoted in the *Anthology*
of the *Granta* (1889-1914), in Mr. F. A. Rice's *Book on the Granta and*
Its Contributors (Constable 1924) to whom we tender our grateful acknow-
ledgments for the above tid-bits.

WE may be pardoned for concluding upon a familiar note. "During the
work on the improvement scheme at the East India Dock
(in 1914) the original foundation-stone of the undertaking
which was laid on the 4th March 1804, was brought to
light. The stone was found when the water was pumped
out of the import dock, it being revealed at the base of one of the old
quay walls from which it slightly projected. On the top of the stone are
recorded the names of Mr. Joseph Cotton, then Chairman of the East India
Dock Company, and Mr. John Woolmore, Deputy Chairman. The
inscription on the front states that the stone was laid by Mr. Joseph Huddart
F.R.S., on the date given, and the names of the engineers, Mr. John Rennie
and Mr. Ralph Walker, are added. The stone is in excellent preservation.
The East India Dock Company was a subsidiary Company of the famous
East India Company, and the dock was originally made
for its vessels trading to the East." The Mr. Joseph Cotton
(1745-1825) so recorded was our great-great-grand-
father. He was F.R.S., Director of the London Assurance, Elder Brother
and in 1803 Deputy Master of the Trinity House of which he wrote a
Memoir, Director of the East India Company from 1795 to 1823, Chairman

The Foundation
stone of the East
India Dock.

Its Chairman Mr.
Joseph Cotton,
F.R.S.

of the Copper Company and also of the East India Dock Company. Cotton's Wharf, Cotton's Yard, and Cotton Street, East India Dock Road Poplar perpetuate his memory.

J. J. COTTON.

ADDENDA.

The account of " Our journey to Patna " by Ensign Mackay (published in Vol. XXXI, Pt. II of *Bengal : Past and Present*) was taken from the journal of Archibald Swinton and so far as is known, it has not appeared in print before.

Our readers will be interested to know that the Rev. W. K. Firminger has been recently appointed Chaplain of Hampton Court Palace.

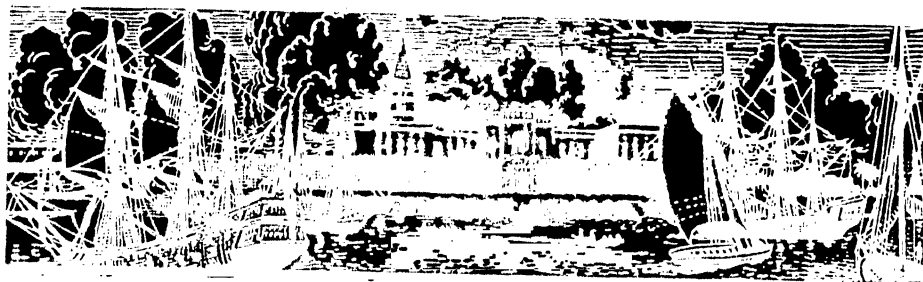
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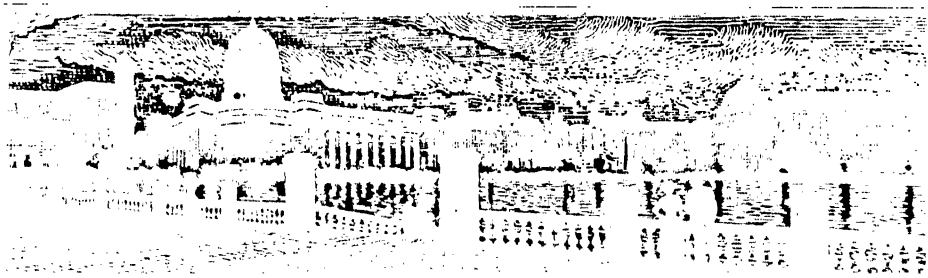
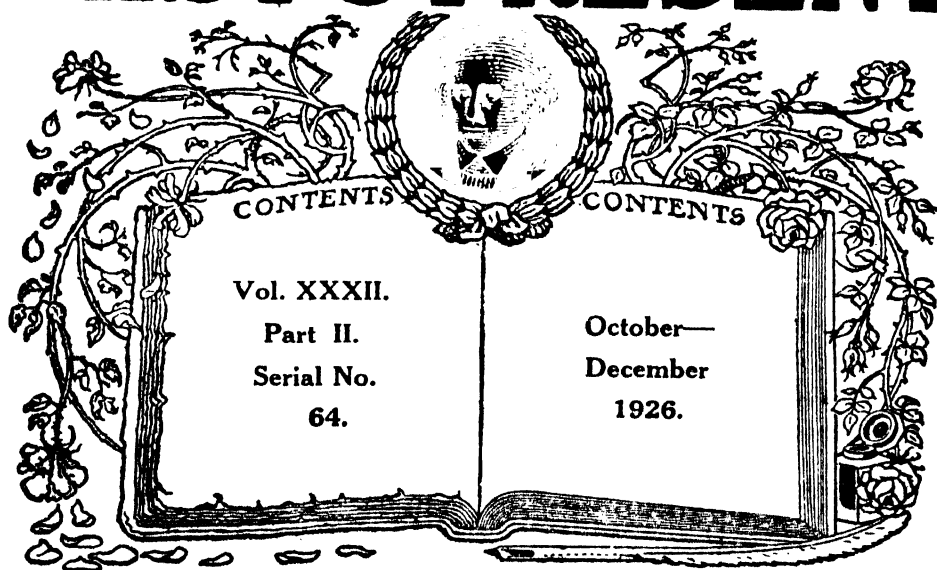
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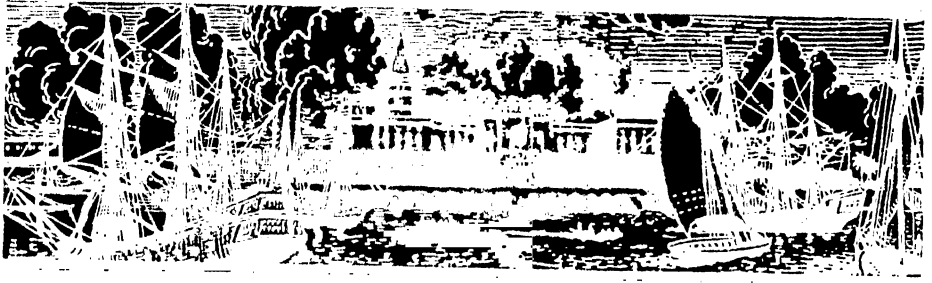
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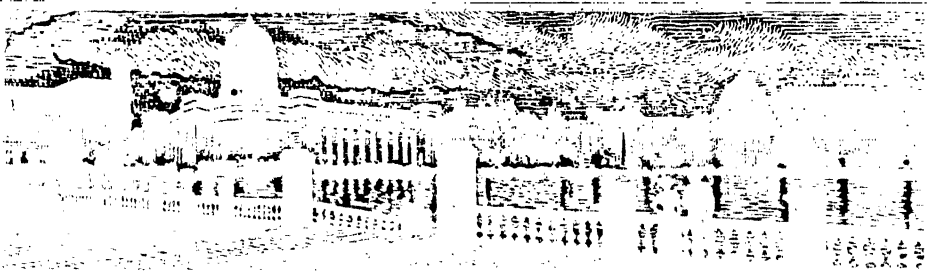
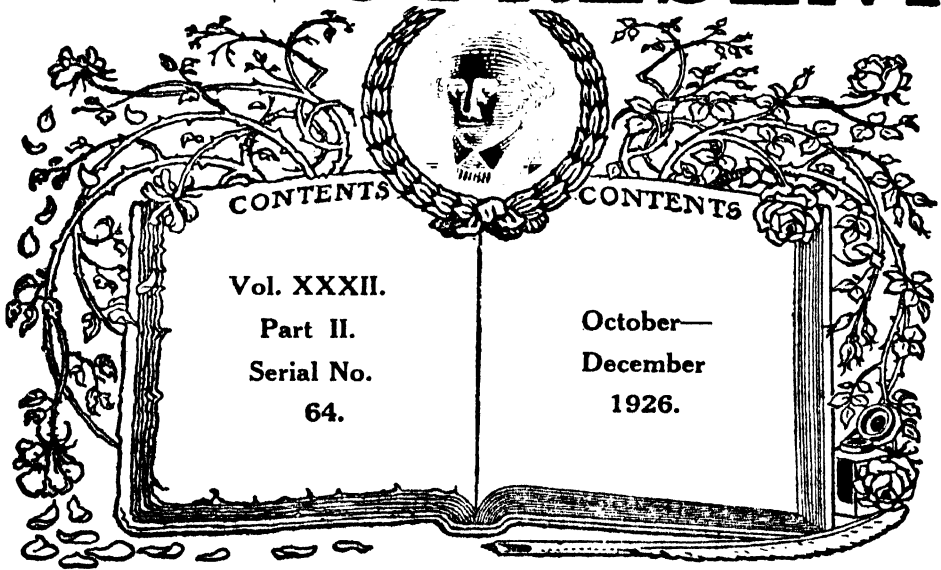
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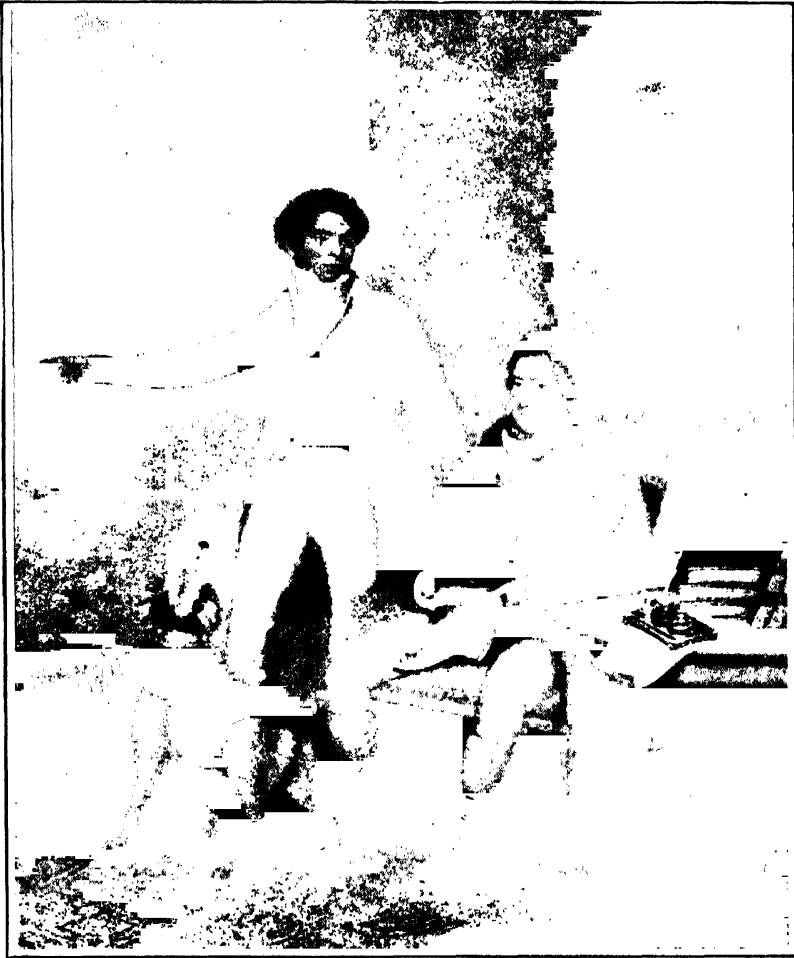
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WILLIAM HICKEY WITH HIS FAVOURITE SERVANT
MUNNOO AND HIS DOG.

From an Engraving in the possession of Mr. Alfred Spencer of the
Portrait by William Thomas exhibited at Royal Academy in 1820.

A Portrait of William Hickey.

IN the preface of the fourth volume of the Memoir's of William Hickey, mention is made by the editor, Mr. Alfred Spencer, of a painting by William Thomas, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1820 under the title of "William Hickey, his favorite black servant and his dog." The picture has not been traced but Mr. Spencer has lately been fortunate enough to acquire a coloured engraving of it, made by the artist, and inscribed "William Hickey, Esq." Of that engraving we are enabled, by the courtesy of Mr. Spencer, to present a reproduction on the opposite page. It was published in *The Graphic* of July 10, 1926: and we are indebted also to the proprietors of that newspaper for permission to use their block.

Hickey is wearing a brown coat: and his hair is of a rich dark brown colour, which in view of his age, suggests a wig. He is sitting on what is evidently his study chair which is upholstered in dark red leather. The coat of the Indian servant is dark blue: his gold fob will be noticed. The figure of the Airedale terrier is full of life: and the whole tone of the picture is most pleasing.

The discovery of this engraving is a matter of more than ordinary interest. No one was more addicted to sitting for his portrait than William Hickey: and yet every one of them has disappeared. In the second volume of his Memoirs Hickey tells us of four. A young Jewess named Martha Isaacs who came to Calcutta during the period of Hickey's earlier residence to practise her profession and there married in 1779 a senior civilian of the name of Alexander Higginson, painted a miniature which he sent to his favourite sister in England. Thomas Hickey, his namesake, painted him twice at Lisbon where he was detained from February to June 1782 when on his way to India with Charlotte Barry. One of these went to William Hickey's sister in London and the other remained with "Mrs. Hickey," who presumably took it with her to Calcutta. When Thomas Hickey came to Calcutta from Madras in 1784, he painted another portrait of William which was full-length and declared to be an excellent likeness (1). Thomas Hickey also painted two portraits of Charlotte, the first at Lisbon, and the second at Calcutta after her death which took place on December 25, 1783.

A fifth portrait is mentioned in the fourth volume of the Memoirs. This was painted by George Chinnery and presented by Hickey to Sir Henry Russell, the Chief Justice, whose clerk he was. "A very capital likeness he produced, which now occupies a corner in Sir Henry Russell's dining room in the Court House of Calcutta.

(1) There is just a possibility Mr. Spencer thinks that the portrait in the National Gallery at Dublin, which was reproduced in the second volume of the Memoirs as one of Joseph Hickey, the father, by Angelica Kauffmann, is in reality one of these portraits of William by Thomas Hickey. There is certainly a marked resemblance about the mouth.

All these have eluded discovery: and it is noteworthy (but not unnatural, inasmuch as he had then completed his Memoirs) that the picture by Thomas, of which the engraving has come to light, is the one to which Hickey makes no reference. But it is known that Thomas lived at Beaconsfield, and it was at Little Hall Barn, Beaconsfield, that Hickey took up his residence upon his arrival from Calcutta in 1809. The date of Hickey's death is uncertain, but he is believed to be the subject of an entry in the old Register of Burials in St. Pancras Churchyard which records the interment on May 31, 1830, of William Hickey, of little King Street, Camden town, aged seventy. He must then have been living in lodgings, for Mr. Spencer has ascertained that his name does not appear in the St. Pancras rate-books as a house holder. The age should be eighty and not seventy: but this need not operate as an obstacle to identification, for the old burial registers were carelessly kept and we know that both his sisters Sarah (December 13, 1824, aged 67) and Ann (November 30, 1826, aged 70) were buried in St. Pancras Churchyard.

It is to be hoped that the glimpse which we are now able to give of the appearance of William Hickey, may lead to the discovery in Calcutta of one or more of the missing portraits.

The "favourite black servant" who is represented in Thomas's picture was named Munnoo. He accompanied his master to England and was baptized on February 27, 1809, in the parish church of Beaconsfield with the name of William Munnew, being described in the certificate as a native of Madras.

Mr. Spencer, we may add, has presented to the Trustees of the Victoria Memorial Hall, a photograph of the engraving and also a facsimile of a sentence from the manuscript of the Memoirs.

EVAN COTTON.

Poplar Chapel.

AT the beginning of the seventeenth century Poplar was a sparsely populated district of small importance, owing its existence mainly to its being the approach to Blackwall Stairs on the Thames, much used as a means of avoiding the detour round the Isle of Dogs. With the foundation by the East India Company in 1614 of a dock at Blackwall there came a change. Several hundreds of men were employed in the dockyard; sailors began to throng the streets; and tradesmen were quickly attracted. As the population of the district grew, a desire arose for the provision of a place of worship, the Parish Church at Stepney being at an inconvenient distance. In May 1642 the inhabitants of Poplar and Blackwall petitioned the East India Company to grant them, in the grounds of the Company's almshouse there, sites for a chapel, a burying ground, and a Minister's house; and, with the consent of the general body of shareholders, half an acre was assigned for that purpose, together with a quantity of stone for building. The times, however, were not propitious for the collection of subscriptions, and it was not until 1654 that the chapel was completed and opened. It is said to have cost over £2,000. towards which the Company in 1652 made a contribution of £200.

There still remained the question of how to find the salary of a Minister; but this was solved by utilizing the services of the chaplain of the Company's almshouse hard by. For his ministrations to almsmen he was paid £20 a year by the Company, who also provided him with a house and garden; the chapel brought him at least the fees for weddings and interments; and so the income became sufficient for a frugal man to live upon. This arrangement had its drawbacks. From time to time disputes arose between the Company and the inhabitants as to the right of presentation, the former jealousy reserving its freedom to choose anyone it pleased for the post of Chaplain, the latter grumbling that they ought to have a voice in the choice of their Minister, especially as they had to maintain the building. The ecclesiastical authorities took a hand in the disputes. The Chapel had never been consecrated, and an essential preliminary was declared to be the provision of a settled maintenance for the Minister. Endeavours were made to induce the Company to provide this; but the Directors steadily refused to go beyond the existing arrangement. A similar fate attended the efforts made in the early part of the eighteenth century to constitute Poplar a distinct Parish, with the Chapel as the Parish Church. So the building remained an unconsecrated place of worship, served by the almshouse chaplain, and generally regarded as the property of the East India Company. The salary of the Chaplain was gradually raised to £500 a year, and a house was built for him by the Company in 1802. In 1817 Poplar was at last made into a separate parish and a special church (All Saints) was built as its ecclesiastical centre. The Company's Chapel remained in its former ambiguous position, partly a church for the neighbourhood, partly a chapel for the almsmen.

The transfer of the East India Company's property to the Crown in 1858 resulted, eight years later, in the dissolution of the Poplar almshouses and the sale of the site. The Chapel was handed over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who made it into the Church of a new district of St. Matthias, Poplar. The exterior of the building was cased in stone, and the interior modernised; and later on a chancel was added. It still, however, preserves enough of the old features to make it interesting. In the centre of the ceiling of the nave is a covered boss, bearing the arms of the old East India Company, painted in their proper colours. The massive oak columns supporting the roof were probably ships' masts originally though the local tradition that they came from the Spanish Armada is obviously false. There are a number of interesting monuments, including one to Robert Ainsworth, (author of a well-known Latin dictionary), another to Philip Worth (a Captain in the Company's service, who died in 1743), and a bas-relief by Flaxman to the memory of George Steevens, the Shakespeare commentator, whose father was Commander of an East Indiaman and afterwards a Director of the Company.

Some havoc has been wrought among the tombs in the churchyard by its transformation into a recreation ground; but some handsome ones are yet in position, though the inscriptions are rapidly becoming illegible. The ground remains unconsecrated; but the invisible hand of the East India Company is still stretched over it. Many of its sailors and commanders settled in old age in Poplar, which was then semi-rural and even semi-nautical; and their dust rests in the old churchyard, mingled with that of their neighbours and friends, the tradespeople and dock officials.

WILLIAM FOSTER.



MAJOR-GENERAL STRINGER-LAWRENCE.

By the courtesy of Mr. Harrington, Curator, Victoria Memorial.

Painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Major-General Stringer-Lawrence,

WE reproduce, by the courtesy of Mr. Harrington, Curator of the Victoria Memorial, a picture of Major-General Stringer Lawrence painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds and bought by the late Lord Curzon from the sale of Mrs. W. H. Palk's effects in London in 1913.

Mrs. Palk was the widow of the great-grandson of Sir Robert Palk by whom the picture was commissioned, and for whom it was painted. Sir Robert Palk was Governor of Fort Saint George from 1763—1767 at the time when General Lawrence was Commander-in-Chief in the Madras Presidency.

Sir Evan Cotton, in "Bengal: Past and Present," (No. XXX, p. 211) has written a very informing note on the three portraits which Gainsborough painted of this fine old soldier. That reproduced here is the second portrait, and represents him mellow with duty done, '*mens sibi conscia recti*'; but most people will prefer the first picture reproduced in Colonel Biddulph's little book, which represents more truly the man who saved the Madras Presidency for Great Britain, and who was the father of the Indian Army.

In this he is represented with feet apart, his right hand resting on a walking cane, his left hand grasping the hilt of his sword. He is shown to be a man of burly frame and some corpulence, but his florid face is that of a singularly resolute man, with the calm unblending gaze of a man who has known anxiety but not fear, and who might be broken but could never be bent. General Lawrence has left few records behind him of his family or his service previous to his arrival in India. He was a Captain in the 14th Regiment of Foot, now the West Yorkshire Regiment, and he was selected in 1746 to command the Garrison at Fort St. George. He must have left the King's Service at this date. He landed in India in 1748. Full details of his Indian service and achievements are easily available, but he will always be remembered as the man who trained Lord Clive, and for whom Lord Clive had the greatest affection and respect.

General Lawrence left India in 1766, and died in London in 1775: he is buried near Exeter, at Dunchidrock, and his friend Sir Robert Palk erected a monument to him.

He is essentially one of England's "worthies,"

"Who bore the heat, and toil, and blows of many a hopeless fray;

Who served uncheered by rank and fame, unbought by place or pay."

Other Generals have been more brilliant, and better known, but no man more completely came up to Cromwell's ideal soldier, "the man who knows what he is fighting for, and loves what he knows."

R. B. R.

Armenian Journalism in India.

IT may not be generally known that the Armenians have from time immemorial been connected with India, whither they were allured from their distant homes in the snow-clad mountains of Armenia, by the glamour of the lucrative trade in spices, muslins, and precious stones, which they carried on with Europe by the overland route, through Afghanistan, Persia and Armenia, via Trebizond, long before the advent of any European traders into this country. But the Armenian colonists in India, with the inherent energy and intelligence of an ancient civilized race, evinced, apart from their commercial pursuits, considerable interest in politics and literature and being proud and zealous of their rich national literature which can vie with that of ancient Rome and Greece, they started printing presses for publishing the works of ancient Armenian writers and translators for which there were a great demand amongst the Armenians in India and the Far East. And not content with the publications of books only, they entered the field of journalism and they can justly claim the honour of being the Founders of Armenian journalism.

An enthusiastic Armenian priest of Madras, Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon, a native of Shiraz in Persia, conceived the happy idea of starting a journal for the Armenian colonists in India and the Far East, and, with commendable zeal, he laid the foundation of Armenian journalism in July, 1794, with a modest list of 28 subscribers only and without any paid advertisements which form the backbone of modern journalism.

His "Azdarar", or "Intelligencer", was a monthly magazine devoted to social, political, literary and commercial information, in which "Answers to Correspondents", "Domestic Occurrences", "Reviews of Books", "Commercial and Shipping Advertisements", found a place, as in present-day journals. But the curious part of the venture was that the founder of the *first* Armenian journal, in addition to his sacerdotal duties, was the editor, the publisher, the compositor the distributor and the printer of his paper and even the paper used in printing the "Azdarar" was manufactured by him by the primitive method in vogue then for making hand-made paper from cotton pulp. A truly journalistic feat indeed never attempted by any journalist in the history of journalism. For whereas in these days of Rotary presses and time saving Linotype machines, journalism is a real pleasure, it was nothing but a self-imposed task and purely a labour of love in the days when the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon of Madras published his "Intelligencer" in 1794.

With such a humble beginning, Armenian journalism has during the past 132 years spread all over the civilized world, and to-day there are over a hundred journals and magazines published in all the large cities and capitals of Europe, Asia, Africa and America where Armenians are found

ԱՐԴԱՐԱՐ 1854

ԻՒՐԱՅ ԱՄՍՈՑ

1794

Բարեպաշտ Պարոնաց և
Մաքրակենցաղ Տիկնաց } Մաղբախ Լացոց

Կատեղով իմով և թէ զօժանդ տկա Խապարանին՝ և և թէ
Խապարանին յառաջ և կէտիս առաջապայ, յարմար խա-
կայ նաեւ իր լաւ աջի՝ ձեռնով ազգ տարու և զխոսմանս
նորոյ ծնին, ցտակցմամբ իրոյս ան և զտեղի մի յամու մի ըջնոյ
ամայ, տնո՛ւ ան ալ ազգաբարոյ յորմէ իմացու ինն լոցէ ըն-
թէ լոցոյց, ծայրաբող անցքն նոյնոյ ամայ, և թէ ի վանական կա-
ղէ թայ, և թէ ի վանական քարտիպոց, և և թէ ուրոց զանազան
գրոց, նո և բանք հարկու որք և քաղցրալու ըր, և ի վերջնու մե
տն տրակին, զըրազցց մի հետեւ ալ ամայ, պոլլու նուկե ալ ի նմա
զտնա սրբոյ, և զառու ծննդ ետեւ և լրման լուանոյ և այլն և

Արդ

Արդ և թէ զտարժանու որու և առարկու և և թէ զտ-
աղանկանու և յապարանին և կամ ի թէ զտարժանի ըն լոյ բազմաշ
խառն զառա՛ւառայ ապարանին զգ ինն յիշեալ տն տրակին՝ մի
հուն հառաւանցի, զորոյ և թէ զանրապէ որ՝ գտանել զ լի-
շեպէ և առաւին, տարաղ ըն սպէ զանուն իւր՝ ի նոյն լոց լոց զմու-
քանալու թէ ք տն տրակին, և թէ զտար և և թէ վանք բարեկա-
մայ իւրոյ, զի և թէ բարեպաշտ ծախն առաջիկայ գործոյս, առա-
ջացու ցանն լոցեմ ան լոց անաղաղ լոց և

Որ ըն մե ող է իւր միշտ հետեւ ողգ աղոյծ ու ու ծ ազգ ին ուր
մեան, տղնաք ու ի յայս գործա ողնական լինիլ ինն ըն մ, առ
ի և ըջանկութի ձեւ յարգե ընաց, և մի թարու լոց իւն և

Ի Մաղբախ
Ի Լաւար ամայ 20 } և Բաթ 85 1794, Չորոց տննախոնարհ
ՏԵԲարութի Ըմառնան

Չնանաղ լոց լոց 28 հոգիք և



in large numbers, but by an irony of fate, India, that gave birth to Armenian journalism, does not possess a single paper to-day in the Armenian language.

The Venerable Father of Armenian journalism, who was the Vicar of the Armenian Church at Madras, died at the age of 74 on the 9th day of February, 1824, (1) and his revered grave is to be seen to this day at the Armenian Church (in Armenian Street) at Madras, with an inscription in classical Armenian. Peace to his soul, rest to his ashes, and may the journalism, which he founded, continue to flourish for the intellectual advancement of a much-persecuted nation, which, in the words of Byron "has partaken of the proscription and bondage of the Jews and of the Greeks, without the sullenness of the former or the servility of the latter".

The life of the first Armenian journal was however a short one, as it lasted for two years and a half only and died a premature death for want of sufficient support, which has been the bane of Armenian journalism ever since its foundation in 1794.

From 1796, when the "Azdarar" was laid to rest at Madras, until 1820, the Armenians in India made no efforts to revive their national journalism, but in 1820, two journals appeared at Bombay and Calcutta simultaneously, but they too shared the fate of their predecessor and they both died within a year.

In 1821, another journal was started in Calcutta but it did not live more than two years. The only journal that enjoyed a fairly long life, was the "Azgasare" (The Patriot) of Calcutta which was ably edited by that profound scholar, poet and educationist, Mesrobian David Thaliatian, than whom a greater Armenian scholar has not been seen in India to this day. But the same fatality—want of sufficient support—sealed the fate of the "Azgasare" in 1852, after an existence of seven years under great difficulties and privations.

Madras tried to revive the "Azdarar" in 1846, but without success, as it did not last a year even. Another attempt was made by Madras in 1848 to resuscitate Armenian journalism but it shared the sad fate of its predecessors.

Nothing daunted, Calcutta vainly attempted in 1862 to retrieve the fortunes of the moribund National journalism, but it came to a sudden and dramatic end in 1863 by the conviction of the editor for libel with a fine of Rs. 500 and a residence of 3 months in the house of correction.

From 1794-1863, some 11 journals were published at Madras, Calcutta and Bombay, all in the Armenian language, the first five being printed,

(1) In response to an appeal by the writer of these lines, which was published in all the leading Armenian newspapers and literary magazines, the centenary of the death of the Father of Armenian Journalism was celebrated on the 9th day of February 1924, at all the Armenian centres in Europe, America, Asia and in the Republic of Armenia. And at the Armenian Church of St. Mary at Madras, a requiem service was held over the venerated grave of the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon at the request of the present writer who had a wreath placed over the grave of the immortal Founder of Armenian Journalism and "In Memoriam" Notices with biographical sketches, published in the "Madras Times" and in the Calcutta "Englishman" and the "Statesman" as a small tribute to his memory.

whilst the remaining six were lithographed. But with the single exception of Mesroby Thaliatin's "Azgasare" (1845-1852) all the others lacked literary merit and the reason is not far to seek, as all the other Editors, with the exception of the Founder (Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon) were men of business and had no literary attainments or any pretensions to scholarship; nevertheless, they deserve great credit and praise, their shortcomings notwithstanding, for having zealously kept the torch of Armenian journalism flickering for 70 years under great difficulties.

Before concluding this article, I must not omit to mention the journal "Ara" in English, devoted to Armenian politics, literature and history which was ably edited by the late Mr. J. D. Melik-Beglar, from 1892-1895 and the "Armenian" of the late Mr. J. Barseghian, who likewise published his journal in English from 1908-1909, and with the death of the "Armenian" which by an irony of fate happened to be the 13th in the list of Armenian journals in India—that unlucky No. 13, Armenian journalism, after a miserable existence of 115 years in this country, died a natural death with the consolation however that it had laid the foundation of the National Press which has achieved great success in Europe and elsewhere where Armenians are found in large numbers.

It is a crying shame, however, that a wealthy and an advanced community like the Armenians, should not have an organ for the ventilation and the furtherance of communal grievances and affairs in these days of stress and strain when events are moving very fast in the kaleidoscope of India, where the political existence of small communities is in the balance with "India for the Indians" writ large above.

The following is a translation of the Notice or Advertisement of the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon addressed to the pious and patriotic Armenian ladies and gentlemen of Madras, announcing his intention of publishing a Monthly Magazine in the Armenian language at Madras, if sufficient support would be forthcoming however.

A facsimile of this Advertisement which appears in the beginning of the first issue of the now exceedingly rare "Azdarar" (2) is specially prepared for this article in view of its unique interest and great value as the first Armenian Journal in the World." This is shown at page.....of the present Number of "Bengal—Past and Present".

AZDARAR.

For the Month of Thira, 1794.

To

The Pious Armenian gentlemen and the chaste ladies of Madras.

(2) There are only two complete copies of the "Azdarar" extant at the present day, one being in the famous national Library at Etchmiatzin the Armenian Vatican—near Erivan, the Capital of the Republic of Armenia, and the other in the private library of the present writer. There is also a copy, but incomplete, in the otherwise very rich library of the Mekhitharist Fathers at Vienna who possess by far the best and the most complete collection of Armenian Journals in the world from 1794 up to the present day.

" Having considered the benefit that the press would derive and seeing the good progress of the studious (amongst us) I deemed it necessary to place before your patriotism my present intentions, that is, to print a pamphlet at the end of every month, to be called the "Intelligencer", from which the readers will be able to know the principal events of the month, taken either from different gazettes or from different books, as also important subjects and pleasant news; and at the end of the pamphlet there will be a calendar for the month following, containing the festivals of Saints and the dates of the new and the full moon, etc.

Now either for the worthiness of my project or for the benefit of the press and the encouragement of the hard-worked pressmen, I have fixed the price of the said pamphlet at one Hoon (3) therefore, if anybody wishes to get the aforesaid pamphlet, let him subscribe his name below this paper, with the number of copies required, either for himself or for his friends, and if there be sufficient to defray the cost of the present work, I shall then, with the help of God proceed with every effort.

As you have always been the followers of the glory of the Armenian nation, I request you, therefore, to help in this work for your happiness and consolation.

Yours humble,

Rev. ARRATHOON SHUMAVON.

" Madras, the 20th Qamar in the year of Our Lord, 1794 ".

MESROVB J. SETH.

(3) The " Hoon " was the native (Tamil) name for the silver coin then current in the Madras Presidency and was the equivalent of $3\frac{1}{2}$ Sicca Rupees of the East India Company. It was called the " Pagoda " by the English traders by reason of its having on the obverse the image of a Hindoo " Pagoda " of Southern India. Madras was a very prosperous at that time and the " Pagoda Tree " was in full bloom then. Alas for departed glory! While at Shiraz, the Rev. Arrathoon Shumavon had the misfortune to lose his two sons in the short space of one month. Overcome by grief he left his fold and retired from the city. He took up his abode with the Persian *darvishes* (anchorites) in the solitude of Babakhoh—" far from the madding crowd." This hill, the Parnassus of the Persians, being within easy distance, however, of the city (Shiraz) was the favourite haunt of the two famous Persian poets, Saadi and Hafez, who frequently resorted thither to invoke their muse. The Armenian Cemetery of Shiraz nestles at the foot of this hill, and there sleeps the immortal Armenian poet, Mesrovb David Thaliatian of Erivan. For seven long years the bereaved Shumavon remained with the Persian *darvishes* at Babakhoh, and studied closely the flowery Persian language—justly styled the French of the past—which he completely mastered and distinguished himself as a Persian scholar. Yielding eventually to the entreaties of those who were dear and near to him, he returned once more to the city from which he had turned his face. Shortly afterwards he departed from Shiraz, with its melancholy association and came to Madras in 1784 as a Minister for the Armenian Church of that place. In 1789 he started a printing press at Madras for printing and publishing books in the Armenian language. The first publication from his press, in 1789-90 was a reprint of " The Martyrology of the Virgin Marianeh " which according to the interesting title-page was printed " from type prepared by the Rev. Arrathoon, the son of Shumavon of Shiraz for the benefit of the Armenian Youth ". Through his profound knowledge of the Persian language he found great favour in the eyes of Omdat-ul-Mulk Valajah Amir-ul-Hind Asaph-ud-Dowlah, the Nawab Khan Bahadoor of Arcot, from whom he received permission in 1795 to print and publish books in the Persian and Arabic languages as well. A copy of the Nawab's *farman* granting him permission, lithographed in fine Persian and Arabic characters is to be seen at page 253 of the " Azdarar " for 1795.

A Forgotten Island of the Bay of Bengal.

(Based on the records of the Imperial Record Dept.)

INTRODUCTION.

THE vast and incredible accumulation* of silt and sand which is continually taking place around the mouths of the innumerable rivers and watercourses of the Gangetic delta and the constant modification of this process by natural disturbances, such as seismic shocks, effects of bores and tornadoes, which are going on here silently but surely through uncounted ages are responsible for the formation and subsequent disappearance of several new lands, in the shape of islands, promontories, headlands, etc. at these places. Among such kind of lands none, perhaps, played so important a part in the annals of the East India Company's trade in Bengal in the latter half of the 18th century as the Coxe Island (spelt in the records as Cocks Island) at the mouth of the Hughly River. This island during that period not only served as a safe retreat for many a Company's weather-beaten trading-vessels but also in other respects materially furthered their commercial enterprise in Bengal by forming an important halting station for the ships engaged in the Company's Eastern trade. So prominent was once this Coxe Island whose name is now buried in oblivion. There is, however, at present a much neglected and almost forlorn island in the Hughly River, some miles away from Diamond Harbour, known as 'Kak Dwip,' but it is difficult to say whether this 'Kak Dwip' is really the Coxe Island of the 18th century. If it is not so, "the Coxe Island" of this paper has either been submerged under the waters of the Bay of Bengal on account of some aforesaid convulsions of Nature or has become the part and parcel of that inhospitable and wild tract of land commonly known in geography as the *Sunderbunds* or the lands of *Sundri* trees (*Heritiera littoralis*). However, that is a subject well worthy of the attention of our research students. But as there are some old papers in the archives of the Imperial Record Department containing several interesting facts regarding this once important island, a description of them is sure to be edifying to the research-students of Bengal.

SOME FACTS REGARDING THE COXE ISLAND.

2. The name of this island though occurs very frequently in the Public Department records of the latter half of the 18th century, yet no information from them could be traced as to the name of its discoverer or the period

* It has been calculated by Sir Charles Lyall, author of the *Principles of Geology* that about 40,000 millions of cubit feet of solid matter are deposited at the head of the Bay of Bengal by the combined rivers of the Gangetic Delta every year.

when it was first seen.* All that we find from them is that during the latter half of the 18th century this island was a very important centre of the Company's Bengal trade, where several trading-vessels of the Company used to meet either to save themselves from dangers of the sea or for commercial purposes. The names of some of the prominent commercial ships which used to touch here (as appear from the records) are (1) the *Worcester* (2) the *Hinchinbrooke* (3) the *Resolution*, (4) the *Fully Sultana* (5) the *Major*, (6) the *Halsewell* (7) the *Lord Macartney* (8) the *Ceres* (9) the *Fox* (10) The *Norfolk* (11) the *Henry Dundas* (12) The *Princess Amelia* (13) The *Talbot* (14) The *Southampton* (15) the *Besborough* (16) the *Valentine* (17) the *Berrington* (18) the *Hillsborough* (19) the *Cornwallis* (20) the *Vansittart*, etc.

COXE ISLAND—AS A SAFE RETREAT FOR THE DISTRESSED SHIPS.

3. That this island once formed the safe retreat for distressed vessels will be evidenced from the following letter (1) of Capt. David Arthur of the ship *Major* to Mr. J. P. Auriol, Secretary to the Board, dated Cock's Island (sic) the 15th April, 1783. The letter runs thus:—

"Please acquaint the Hon'ble Board that the ship *Major* at 4 p.m. yesterday, in 6 p.m. betwixt Sagar and the Eastern Reef parted from her anchor. The wind blowing strong from S.W., S.S.W. and the sea running very high and having before parted from two anchors, there remaining only the sheet and stream (sic), was reduced to the necessity of putting back. We very fortunately made the buoys of the Middle and Gasper and arrived safe at Cock's Island the same evening at 7 o'clock."

COXE ISLAND'S DANGEROUS POSITIONS.

4. Though this island thus saved many Company's ships from the stress of weather yet, it appears from the papers, that it itself lay surrounded by positions highly dangerous and treacherous to shipping. The following letter (2) from Capt. David Tolme of the Ship *Resolution* to J. P. Auriol, Secretary to the Board, dated Sand Heads, 20th Oct. 1783, will illustrate the above point:—

"I have to request that you will be pleased to inform the Board that the *Resolution* is at last safe out after a most tedious passage from Culpee to Cock's Island. The passage is now become very dangerous. The Channel is so narrow and much less water than in February last. The pilot is now going to have the ship in 15 fathoms water." Again from the following letter of John Ritchie, (3) Marine Surveyor, to the Board, dated Calcutta, the 28th October 1784, we get another instance of how the position of this island was dangerous to navigation:—

* But from Rennel's Atlas which was published in 1781 we find a place near this island called "New Harbour".

(1) Pub. O. C. 1 May, 1783, No. 28.

(2) Pub. O. C. 1 Dec., 1783, No. 52.

(3) Pub. O. C. 3 Nov., 1784, No. 35.

"I beg leave to represent to you that a buoy is still wanting to mark the western side of the New Channel above Cock Island. The season for the large ships going down from town being now at hand, the pilots have applied to me to procure this buoy for them, as the want of it subjects them to great difficulties and the ships in their charge to a very great risk."

PORT OF KEDGEREE IN COMMERCIAL TOUCH WITH THE COXE ISLAND.

5. Another important fact which we find from the papers concerning the Coxe Island is that Kedgerree, which is now a neglected malarious village, was at that period a highly flourishing port. On account of its being in close proximity to the aforesaid island, it was then in close commercial touch with that island, whence Mr. John Lloyd, agent for despatching the Europe ships, used to hold frequent correspondence (4) with the Board regarding the "Coxe Island" shipping.

RECLAMATION WORK OF THE COXE ISLAND.

6. Finding the Coxe Island highly advantageous to their commercial purposes, the Board towards the beginning of the year 1783 conceived the idea to improve its importance by undertaking to clear this island. For this purpose the Board sanctioned (5) 5,000 *sicca* rupees and requested the Committee of Revenue to help Mr. John Ritchie, Marine Surveyor, to whom they committed the task of reclaiming the island, with 200 coolies accustomed to cutting down woods and jungles. (6) The following extract from the letter (7) of John Ritchie to J. P. Auriol, Secretary to the Board (General Dept.), dated Calcutta, March 18th, 1783, will show that this task fell on a really capable and willing hand. It further shows that John Ritchie not only fully appreciated the commercial value of this island but also of his own accord, suggested an interesting method of obtaining fresh drinking water for the use of the ships. The extract, in question, also throws an interesting light on the jungle-life of the labourers of the Sunderbunds. It runs thus:—

"Nothing can be more beneficial to the public service than the idea which the Hon'ble Board entertain of clearing Cock Island of the jungle for the convenience of shipping. Such a convenience is absolutely necessary, and the Cock Island is well adapted to the purpose; for being detached from the land and of no great extent, the whole of it may be cleared; which will remove the fear, at least it will effectually remove the danger of people being carried off by tigers, for none will come there in the daytime after the ground is clear. I think an attempt

(4) Pub. O. C. 7 Apr., 1783, No. 7; 26 Jany., 1784, Nos. 120 and 122; 20 Feb., 1784, No. 100; 29 Nov., 1784, No. 60 .

(5) Pub. O. C. 1 May, 1783, No. 33.

(6) Pub. O. C. 24 Mar., 1783, No. 13.

(7) Pub. O. C. 20 Mar., 1783, No. 12.

should also be made to obtain fresh water upon it, which may easily be done if we follow the practice of the *Mollingahs* at their salt works in the Sunderbunds. Instead of digging very deep tanks with a view to get water from the earth, they open a large surface and only dig it about six or eight feet deep placing the earth of the excavation round the border of the tank, not in a high ridge but sloping inward like a wedge in order to collect the rain water and throw it into the tank. When a tank is newly made in the manner I have mentioned, they look out for some of the freshest earth they can find on places which is never overflowed by the tides and mixing it up with fresh water, they make a kind of plaister and with it plaister over the whole bottom sides and (record torn) of their new made tank; so that no part of the blue (record torn) bottom touches the water and so leave it to collect there water in the rainy season. I saw one of these just finished upon the Paravanga Island in the mouth of Murja (record torn) River in April, 1768 and in December of the same year watered four vessels at it, with as good water as is that on the green of Fort William, if not better. Surely we could make a reservoir of this kind as well as these poor people do and upon a much larger scale and would consequently succeed better. Economy would point out the circular form for such a tank as containing the largest surface within the least possible limit." Form the above letter of John Ritchie to J. P. Auriol, we also find that he proposed to undertake the reclamation-work of the Coxe Island from the October, 1783 as the weather before this period would, according to him, be unsuitable for this attempt. Says he in his aforesaid letter to J. P. Auriol:—

"I fear I should mislead the Hon'ble Board if I were to say that I could carry their (Board's) orders for clearing Cock Island into execution immediately. I think the season would not admit of it without incurring an unnecessary expense for the people must for some time be accommodated with boats for themselves as well as for their water, provisions and implements; and this boisterous time would hardly permit the business to go on, especially as the rains would be on upon us before any great progress could be made. I would therefore wish it to be postponed till the end of October at which time, everything being prepared, I could proceed with certainty of success."

SURVEY OF THE COXE ISLAND AND THE NEW CHANNEL BY CAPT. J. H. DEMPSTER.

7. In connection with the reclamation-work of Coxe Island, a survey of this Island and of the New Channel (a dangerous passage between the Long Sand and Gasper Sand) was made by Capt. J. H. Dempster about the middle of the year 1783. His report is embodied in the following extract from his letter, (8) dated Balasore Roads, 3rd May, 1783:—

"Where the ships lay at Coxe's Island I conceive to be fully as good a place at Kedgerree but not so good as Culpee. It would be a great improvement on the place if the Government would give encouragement to a few

(8) Pub. O. C. 8 May, 1783, No. 9.

Europeans and natives to settle there. By clearing the ground, building some temporary houses and digging for fresh water, the place would wear another appearance. But it damps the officers belonging to ships to have no possibility of assistance from the shore and no communication with town but by their own boats.

With respect to the Channel, it is broad enough everywhere for a ship to turn in and the least water we had was 24 fathoms to 27 feet. But then it was not quite low water. Provided the weather is at all moderate I conceive the Channel to be perfectly safe; and I observed in sounding that there was frequently places of a mile in length where a ship might bring up in five fathom low water. My idea is, that were the pilots attentive in sounding, they might find out different stages where a ship of any draught might anchor with safety. At the same time, except on an emergency, ships ought not to load above 20 feet 6 inches; and no *Indiaman* will be deeper when she has her Europe cargo in. We rode in half five at low water and had not less water."

RECLAMATION WORK AT THE COXE ISLAND IS TEMPORARILY SUSPENDED.

8. It appears from the records (9) that the work of cutting down woods and jungles and other reclamation work of the Coxe Island which commenced, according to the letter of John Ritchie of the 18th March, 1783, towards the end of October, 1783 suffered a check towards the close of that year as John Ritchie was ordered by the Board "to execute some partial surveys at various places of the West Coast of the Bay of Bengal." Besides this, the money, viz. 5,000 *sicca* rupees, which was sanctioned by the Board for commencing this work was also spent in "relieving the necessities of the *Eliza's* (the name of a ship) crew." It does not transpire from the records when the clearance work of this island was again resumed by Ritchie but it appears that it was subsequently done, as we find from a letter (10) written by Surgeons B. Hartley and J. Tailour to the Governor-General, dated Calcutta, 3rd February, 1785 that they strongly expressed a desire to erect a hospital at Coxe Island for the benefit of the diseased sea-men by raising subscriptions—a proposal which they would have never ventured to offer, if the reclamation work of the island undertaken by Mr. Ritchie entirely ceased. The note (11) of the aforesaid surgeons in connection with the Coxe Island Hospital, which is given below, is sure to prove interesting to the research students:—

"The consideration of humanity, as well as policy require that particular attention should be had to the health and service of the European Seamen employed in the Hon'ble Company's ships, which in both instances is neglected and evaded on their arrival in Bengal."

"For want of proper advice or medicines at the common stations of Kedgeree or Culpee, the seamen of the Company's ships are obliged to be

(9) Pub. O. C. 2 Aug., 1784, No. 42.

(10) Pub. O. C. 10 Feb., 1785, No. 66.

(11) Pub. O. C. 10 Feb., 1785, No. 67.

transported to Calcutta in many cases at the risque (sic) of their lives, at all events very dangerous. And, in the case of their being restored to health they are often, if not always, induced by the representations they receive to desert their former employments and remain in the Settlement, which they are enabled too easily to effect."

"For these reasons, it is humbly suggested to your Honourable Board that, if an Hospital with proper attendants were erected at Cox's Island, where the diseased Seamen might be also under the eye of their Commanders, it would answer the most salutary and beneficial purposes, tending to the most effectual means of preserving their Health and the certainty of continuing their services to the Company."

"In order to carry this plan into execution, the Subscribers presume to lay before the Honourable Board the following proposals for their approbation."

No. 1. They propose to erect a Hospital on the most healthy spot which the Island at present affords, with accommodations capable of receiving three hundred men.

No. 2. In order to render the Island as healthy as possible by promoting a full and free circulation of air, the subscribers will undertake to *clear and cultivate the ground* with all the diligence in their power; that it may not only answer the purposes above suggested but prove a salutary resort for valitudinarians of every description.

No. 3. That the fear of incurring Expense to the Company may be no objection to the plan, the Subscribers will, with the permission of Government, undertake to execute it at their own expense; if, when the Hospital shall be finished and approved of, and the Island sufficiently cleared, the Hon'ble Board will grant them what salary it may deem adequate to the Hospital establishment, with the appointment of (them as) Surgeons to it; and a grant of the Island upon a quit Rent for the term of twenty years "

NO RESPONSE OF THE BOARD TO THE PROPOSAL.

9. As the Surgeons Hartley and Tailour received no response to their aforesaid note they again wrote a letter to the Board on the 9th March, 1785, dwelling on the urgency of their proposal and requesting the Boards' sanction. This letter (12) which throws some light on the then topography and climatic condition of the Island amply repays a perusal:—

"Some time ago we took the liberty of presenting to your Hon'ble Board a proposal for building an Hospital on Cox's Island for the reception of Sick and diseased Seamen from the Hon'ble Company's Ships upon their arrival at Bengal."

"The Humanity as well as obvious utility of this Plan we flattered ourselves could not fail to recommend it to the approbation of the Hon'ble

Board the tedious and hazardous conveyance of the men from the anchorage of the Ships to Calcutta (which of itself must endanger their lives) would by this means be prevented."

"The Dissipation which they fall into by a residence in Calcutta and the probability of subsequent desertion avoided inducements of the greatest weight respecting this useful Class of men."

"This Plan, however, was accompanied with a proposal of Clearing the Island which being inconsistent with former arrangements made by your Hon'ble Board, you were pleased to suspend the consideration of it. We now beg leave further to suggest that the Principal object we had in view by an attempt to clear the Island was subservient to the purposes of the Hospital for the cultivation of vegetables so necessary to the restoration and health of the Seamen after a long Voyage. It is only necessary therefore that the Hon'ble Board will permit us to have a grant of such a quantity of Ground contiguous to the Hospital as will be sufficient for this Purpose upon the Terms allowed to others, who are at the trouble and expense of clearing the Land."

"Conceiving that the only objection urged by your Hon'ble Board is thus removed, we trust that you will resume the Consideration of our Original proposal and for the reasons we have stated in support of it, be induced to comply with our Request."

"It will be remembered by the Honorable Board that we made offer of building the Hospital at our own Expense only requiring such an Establishment for it's support as to your Honorable Board should appear proper and necessary. We are further ready and willing to find security for completing the Building, before the season when the next Fleet from Europe is expected, that there may be no delay in the experience of the benefits for which it is intended."

"Your Petitioners are however, aware of another objection which may possibly arise to the plan they have proposed, viz., the distance between the usual Anchorage of the shipping at Culpee and Kedgerree from the situation of the Hospital. To obviate this we must in the first place observe that it is on all accounts preferable to Calcutta, not only as being less distant, but as being free from the inconveniences we have already represented by the Conveyance and residence of the Seamen there. And in the second place it is evident from examining the situation of Culpee that the passage from thence to Sagor Point, where the Hospital is intended to be built must be safe and expeditious through Channel Creek, at the mouth of which Sagor lies, and this we are informed will be the case at all seasons of the year. As to the other anchoring places of Kedgerree and Injeelee they are almost opposite and an easy access is always open from these to the Island."

"Your Petitioners have lately been at the pains to examine the Island very accurately and they can venture to assure the Hon'ble Board of its particular salubrity and the Goodness of the water to be found there."

"Upon the whole we flatter ourselves that the scheme we have proposed is worthy of the Encouragement of the Honorable Board which we

presume to hope will be extended to our anxious and unremitting endeavours to deserve it."

THE BOARD REJECT THE PROPOSAL.

10. However we find from the records that according to the Resolution (13) of the Board, dated the 14th March, 1785, the proposal of the aforesaid Surgeons was rejected. The Resolution runs thus:—"Ordered that Messrs. Hartley and Tailour be informed that the Board do not think proper to accede to their proposals, having it in contemplation to carry such a plan into execution on the part of the Government." But whether the building of hospital at Coxe Island was ever afterwards actually undertaken by Government does not transpire from the records up to the year 1800.

POST OFFICE AT THE COXE ISLAND.

However we find from the papers (14) that a Post Office existed at Coxe Island in the year 1798 and the following extract occurs in a letter written by Sir C. W. Blunt, Post Master-General of Bengal, to the Board of Trade on the 14th November, 1797:—

"I would beg leave to recommend that a postage of 8 annas should be levied on all letters sent to Coxe Island." Records further enlighten us that between the years 1787-8, Messrs. W. Bruere, R. Ireland and B. Crisp were the Custom Masters at Coxe Island.

CONCLUSION.

11. Such was 'Coxe Island' as is revealed by the Public Department records up to the end of the 18th century. Any further information about this once interesting land if found from subsequent records will be noticed in some future issue of this journal.

BASANTA KUMAR BASU,

Imperial Record Department,
CALCUTTA.

(13) Pub. progs. vol. Mar. 1785, p. 127.

(14) Pub. O. C. 30 Jan., 1798, No. 21.

Mother of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula

AMINA BEGAM was the youngest daughter of Nawab Aliwardi Khan. He gave her in marriage to his youngest and favourite nephew, Zain-ud-din Ahmad Khan, who was made Governor of Patna.

Aliwardi had started his career in the Court of Shuja Khan, Nawab of Bengal, and by dint of ability soon made himself a great favourite of the Nawab. Shuja Khan raised him to the governorship of the frontier province of Bihar in 1729. Shuja was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan in 1739, and it was from the latter that Aliwardi ungratefully wrested the *masnad* of Murshidabad—one of the few acts that constitute a blot on his character.

A few days before Aliwardi was appointed to the governorship of Patna, Amina gave birth to a child, whom Aliwardi adopted as his own and named Mirza Muhammad, and who was later known as Nawab Siraj-ud-daula. The fact of his birth practically coinciding with his grand-father's appointment doubly endeared Mirza Muhammad to Aliwardi.

Aliwardi was always averse to unnecessary bloodshed, and his daughter, Amina Begam, too inherited this humane characteristic. A generous and tender-hearted lady, her advice to her son, Siraj-ud-daula, was always to be merciful. In 1756 a quarrel broke out between the English and Siraj-ud-daula, then Nawab of Bengal. He was determined to drive them out of Bengal, but his mother, Amina "tried to restrain him by the reproach that he was going to measure his strength against (mere) merchants." (1) He, however, declined to follow her advice, and seized the English Factory at Kasimbazar, made its chief—Mr. Watts, with his wife (afterwards Begam Johnson) and children prisoners, and then marching on Calcutta made himself master of Fort William (June 1756).

But the compassionate nature of Amina Begam soon led to the release of Mr. Watts and his family.

"The Begam took Mrs. Watts and her little ones into her zenana, where she was treated with the utmost kindness and respect. After the lapse of thirty-seven days, while the Nawab still continued in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, the Begam contrived to send her guest by river under escort to Chander-nagar, where the French Governor hospitably entertained her. The Begam next, at the urgent instance of her son's wife, induced him to release Mr. Watts, who thereupon rejoined his family." (2)

(1) Translation of a letter from M. Le Conte to M. Courtin at Dacca, dated Chandernagar 10th June, 1756.—Hill's *Bengal*, i. 20.

(2) Hyde's *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 158; also Hill's *Bengal*, i. lx, lxi, 176.

The interest of the Begams of the Nawab's family in the safety of the English merchants may have been partly due to the fact that they used to trade on their own account through these foreign merchants. Dr. Forth mentions how very angry Amina Begam was with Amin Chand (Omichand) for forestalling the sale of her consignment of opium and saltpetre at Calcutta:

"About two years ago he [Omichand] had got a large Persia cat, which he sent to the old Nabob. I happened to be at the *Durbar* that morning when his *gomastah* brought it in. Finding the old man very much pleased with it he took the opportunity to acquaint the Nabob that Omichand had a quantity of opium and saltpetre lying at Jullongee which came down with the Begum's opium (the present Nabob's mother) that was to go altogether to Hughly, but that remaining there so long he should loose the opportunity of selling it; begged that the Nabob would give an order that he might take out his concern from the Begum's and send it down in boats of his own. This was immediately granted, the opium and saltpetre was taken out and sent down. I had occasion to go from the *Durbar* to the Begum's who was at that time my patient. When I came in she was very angry having just heard of the order obtained, and said that Omichand could have anything he asked, ever to her prejudice, and that the Nabob had granted him leave to take his opium away, which he would sell first and she would loose the sale of hers. She wanted the old Nabob (her father) to recall the order but in vain." (3)

In June 1746 Siraj-ud-daula was married with great pomp at Murshidabad. His father, Zain-ud-din Ahmad (Governor of Patna) and mother, Amina Begam, were present on the occasion. Zain-ud-din during his stay at Murshidabad cast an envious eye on the power and wealth of his two brothers—Nawazish Muhammad and Sayyid Ahmad—and on the Court of his uncle, Nawab Aliwardi; and counting on the weakness of the two former, and on the old age of the latter, he concluded that he would gain an easy victory in a contest for the throne.

On his return to Patna he became anxious to win over to his side two Afghan captains Shamshir Khan and Sardar Khan of Darbhanga. He now proposed to Nawab Aliwardi that these two chiefs, with 3,000 of their best horse, might be attached to his army as, to drive them out of the province was no easy task, and to suffer them to fortify themselves was not only inexpedient but dangerous.

Aliwardi was at first very much displeased at this proposal as these two Afghan *sardars* had been dismissed from his Court on account of their collusion with the Maratha chief Raghuji Bhonslé when he invaded Bengal; and more so as he suspected them to be secret aspirants for independence.

(3) Letter from Dr. W. Forth to Mr. Drake at Fulta, dated Chinsura, 16 December, 1756.—Hill's *Bengal*, ii. 63-64.

But at last Nawab Aliwardi gave his consent in order to oblige his son-in-law. Zain-ud-din now invited the Afghans to join his command. They, having ambitious designs of their own, readily accepted the proposal and left Darbhanga for Patna.

Zain-ud-din was distributing betel (*pin*) as a mark of special favour to the large number of the Afghans who thronged his Court, for presenting *nazars*, when one of them suddenly cut him down with one stroke of his sabre. A terrible scene of confusion and dismay followed. But his consort, Amina Begam, had the presence of mind to barricade the gates of the *zenana* or women's apartments. The Afghans now surrounded the palace and subjected Haji Ahmad, father of Zain-ud-din, to inhuman tortures for several days, in order to make him disgorge the hidden treasures. The old man ultimately succumbed to their violence. (4)

While the city was a prey to all the horrors of sack and violence, a report spread that Nawab Aliwardi was advancing upon it by forced marches. Shamshir Khan and his nephew, Murad-shir Khan, on receipt of this news hastened to seize the family of the murdered prince. With singular heartlessness they sent open carriages, for Amina Begam and her children. Without the semblance of a veil or protection these high-born ladies were paraded through the streets of the city to the great indignation of the people. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 43-44).

The news of this disaster reached Aliwardi at Murshidabad, but he was not the man to lose his presence of mind. He immediately made an appeal for support in a council of his friends and companions-in-arms, detailed to them his misfortunes and declared that for him there was only one course left—to kill the murderers, or be killed in the attempt. In conclusion he adjured them to come forward with assistance in this perilous enterprize. These words produced the desired effect. He now began to raise the necessary money, and obtained immense sums from his son-in-law, Nawazish Muhammad, and not a little from his own daughter Bibi Ghasiti and from Jagat Seth. Then the Nawab marched on Patna, gained a complete victory over Shamshir, killing him and almost every high officer of his army, and made a great slaughter of the common soldiers (April 1748). Peace and security were once more established in the city of Patna. (5)

All this while the unfortunate Amina Begam and her children had been kept prisoners in a tent, subject to all sorts of misery and contumely. They were now brought to the Nawab's quarters and the re-union took place amid tears of joy and heartfelt thanksgiving to the Supreme Comforter. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 56).

(4) According to Orme (ii. 41) "the unfortunate and high-minded wife of Zain-ud-din found means to convey to him a dose of poison, which in a few hours released him from all his agonies."

(5) "The 26th ultimo. We received a letter from Edward Eyles, Esq., the Chief and Council at Cossimbazar, dated 23rd April advising that their vakils had brought them news of the Nawab's victory over Shamshir Khan who with Murad-shir Khan was killed in battle at Cullodi."—*Bengal Public Consultation*, May 1748 (p. 25, also p. 33).

Aliwardi was very chivalrous in his treatment of Shamshir Khan's family, who were seeking the protection of the zamindar of Bettiah. He had them brought to his seraglio with all respect and consideration, declaring that he had no quarrel with women and that he wanted to show the world that he was not like Shamshir Khan.

Amina was, alas, a frail daughter of Eve. After the death of her husband, she "became famous in Murshidabad by her amours and gallantry"—says the translator of the *Mutaqherin* (i. 282n, also ii. 124n). Like her eldest sister, Ghasiti Bibi, she also fell in love with Husain Quli, who had to pay dearly for this illicit amour (*ibid.* ii. 125). Even Ghulam Husain, the author of the *Mutaqherin*, and a near relation of Aliwardi, remarks:

"In the zenith of the conqueror's [Aliwardi's] power, such infamies and lewdness came to be practised by some females and other persons of his family, as cannot be mentioned with decency, but effectually dishonoured his family for ever. All his daughters, as well as his beloved Siraj-ud-daula, lapsed into such a flagitious conduct, and they were guilty of such a variety of shameful excesses, as would have disgraced totally any person whatever, still more, persons of their elevated rank and sublime station" (ii. 121).

How Siraj-ud-daula, after the rout at Plassey, was taken prisoner in his attempted flight to Patna, how he was brought back to Murshidabad a captive before Mir Jafar, are well known facts. The fallen Nawab was hacked to death at the instance of Miran, the brutal son of Mir Jafar. On the following morning his mangled body, thrown across the back of an elephant, was carried through the busy city, thus heralding the accession of the new sovereign—Mir Jafar.

When the elephant with Siraj's corpse on it was passing by his mother's gate a touching scene was acted. Amina Begain knew nothing of the revolution and enquired as to the reason of the commotion outside. On hearing of the calamity, the poor lady forgot her dignity and ran out barefooted, distracted with sorrow. Throwing herself on her son's body she covered it with kisses and sat disconsolately beating her forehead and breast in her misery. The spectators were greatly moved, and Khadim Husain Khan, the nephew of Mir Jafar, who was enjoying the indignities of his former benefactor's son, seeing the effect of the scene on the multitude, gave the word to his mace-bearers who drove the unfortunate princess and the other ladies who had followed her, back into her house with a good deal of barbarous and needless violence. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 242-43).

How Amina, along with her eldest sister, Ghasiti, heroically met their doom—has already been narrated at length.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

The Life of Lala Babu.

(*Krishna Chandra Sinha of the Paikpara Raj and Kandi Raj.*)

(A Saint of India.)

INTRODUCTION.

A BRIEF account of *Lala Babu's* life (*Krishna Chandra Sinha of the Paikpara Raj and Kandi Raj*) whose name has become a household word in Bengal and whose fame has spread to the North-west of India, cannot fail to be of interest to the many in India. Born and brought up in the lap of luxury, the inheritor of a vast fortune, he did not live his life like the average run of wealthy men. Early he realised the hollowness of earthly pleasures; and eschewing the ways of the world, gave himself up to the supreme duty of serving God and men in an ampler sphere. In these days, when the worship of Mammon is supreme and the dazzling glister of gold has obscured man's spiritual vision, the life of *Lala Babu* should serve as a refreshing study, pending to turn our thoughts inward, away "from the madding crowd's ignoble strife". His was a life of self-abnegation and self-effacement, the like of which is very rarely met with. His hands were always extended to give and not grasp; and his heart burned for love of others, for he relieved the sufferings of humanity. A career such as his should serve as a beacon-light to guide tempest-tossed voyagers over the great sea of life.

Lala Babu's Forefathers.

Genealogists have traced the ancestry of the *Raj Family of Paikpara and Kandi* to one *Anadibar*. He lived some time before the Moslem conquest of India, but nothing certain is known of him. The eighth in descent from him was *Lakshmibar Sinha* who won the distinction of being admitted to the *Kayastha* caste. His son *Vyasdev Sinha* is said to have been the Chief Minister of the famous King *Ballal Sen* of Bengal, the founder of *Kulinism* in India. *Vyasdev Sinha* was a spirited man; he suffered martyrdom in trying to uphold the purity and dignity of his caste. The story goes that on a certain occasion the *Brahmin* subjects of King *Ballal Sen* refused to dine at his place because he had degraded himself by marrying into a low family. They gave expression to the thought that they would only accept this invitation if his Minister, *Vyasdev Sinha*, would do likewise. *Ballal Sen*, thereupon, invited his Minister to dinner; but *Vyasdev Sinha*, zealous of the honour of his caste, refused to compromise matters by responding to the royal call. At this the King grew very angry and ordered his presumptuous Minister to be put to death immediately. This act of sacrifice to uphold the sacred traditions of his caste considerably heightened the *prestige* of his Family.

Balaban Sinha, son of *Vyasdev Sinha* laid the foundation of the town of *Kandi* in the sub-division of *Berhampore*. He cleared the forest round about the site and settled there. His grandson, *Binyak Sinha* was the first *Raja* of the place. His descendants lived there till the time of *Jibadhar Sinha* who was the fifth in descent from *Binyak*. After this the history of the family becomes obscure, for very little is known of the next six generations.

More solid ground is reached at the time of *Hare Krishna Sinha*. He was the sixth in descent from *Jibadhar*. Born in 1650 A.D. he began his career as a money-lender and afterwards amassed an immense fortune by dealing in silks, for which *Murshidabad* has ever been famous. During the troublous days of the incessant raids of the *Maharatta* free-booters, *Hare Krishna* removed from *Kandi* and took up his residence at *Boalia* near *Murshidabad*. He there purchased the *Zemindari* rights of *Boalia* and a few other adjoining villages from the *Derwan* of *Murshidabad*; this newly-acquired estate has ever since formed a part of the *Zemindari* of the *Paikpara* and *Kandi Raj*. *Hare Krishna* was a devout *Vaishnav* (or follower of *Sri Krishan*) according to common report, he spent the last years of his life as a *Samyasi* (or recluse). He died leaving behind him three sons, *Narayan*, *Gauranga* and *Behari*. They went back to *Kandi* which *Hare Krishna* had been obliged to abandon for the time being. Of *Hare Krishna's* sons, *Gauranga* became the most intelligent and the most capable of the Family. He acquired considerable proficiency in *Persian*, the Court language of the day. He exhibited a special aptitude for work in the Revenue Department, and he served for some time under the *Kanungo* (Head Officer) of *Dahapara*. His capacity for work coupled with his keen intellect and liberal education ensured him success in life. He added largely to his ancestral property and considerably raised the position and prestige of his family. The *Nawab* of *Murshidabad* rewarded him with the title of *Majumdar* one of the junior ranks of the officers of the *Kanungo*.

His name is associated with an anecdote illustrative of the tyranny of the *Nawab Siraj-ud-Dowla*. *Gauranga* is said to have built a house some parts of which were in imitation of the *Pleasure-House* of the *Nawab*. This seemed too presumptuous in the eyes of the *Nawab*, who ordered the portions imitated to be demolished and he threw *Gauranga* into prison (*vide Calcutta Review*, January 1894).

Gauranga was a pious man. The famous temple at *Kandi*, dedicated to the God *Radhaballav*, still bears testimony to his religious zeal. He left no male issue, adopting his nephew, *Radhakanta* as his son. His younger brother, *Behari* had four sons, *Dindayal*, *Radhakanta*, *Radhacharan* and *Ganga Govinda*. Of these *Radhakanta* and *Ganga Govinda* rose to high distinction. *Radhakanta* was born in 1728. He stepped into the post held by his adoptive father and acquired great wealth by dint of marked ability. In the Revenue Department he served under two successive *Nawabs*, *Ali Verdi Khan* and *Siraj-ud-Dowla*. He also rendered valuable services to the Honourable East India Company when it acquired the *Dewani* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The Honourable Company amply rewarded him for his services. He was appointed by Clive to look after the entire Revenue

Administration along with *Mahammad Reza Khan* and *Raja Durlavram*. He was one of those who took a leading part in the overthrow of *Siraj-ud-Dowla*. He was a pious Hindu of the orthodox type. He dedicated a considerable amount of his property to the God *Radhaballav* and declared that the income derived therefrom should be devoted to charitable and religious purposes. He left no male issue; and before his death he adopted his nephew, *Pran Krishna* (son of *Ganga Govinda*), as his son, according to the *Dwasushayan* form of adoption.

Ganga Govinda Sinha was born in 1739. He was a man of keen intelligence and was well versed in Persian. He was quite at home with all the intricacies of the accounts of the Revenue Department. When his elder brother, *Radhakanta* retired from service, he was appointed a *Kanango* under *Reza Khan*. But he lost his post when the latter was dismissed from office. When *Warren Hastings*, however, came to India as Governor of Bengal, he was favourably impressed with *Ganga Govinda's* ability and appointed him as the *Dewan* of the Company. The whole Revenue Administration of Bengal was entrusted to his charge; but he was eventually removed from office on a charge of having taken illegal gratification. He was reinstated in 1776 when *Hastings* became supreme in the Council. Henceforward he became the right-hand man of the Governor-General and continued to exercise supreme control over the Revenue Department. Such was his influence that the *Zemindars* of Bengal stood in awe of him and never dared to incur his displeasure. But his supremacy ended with the departure of his patron and he retired in 1785 into private life after having amassed considerable wealth.

Having retired *Ganga Govinda* lived on for fourteen years. He spent almost the whole of the vast fortune, he had acquired (ninety *lakhs* of rupees), in charity and other works of public utility. He celebrated his mother's *Sradh* ceremony with great pomp and spent about twenty *lakhs* of rupees on that occasion. At the *Anna-prasan* (a ceremony when the child arrives at years of discretion) of his grandson *Lala Babu*, invitations to the *Pundits* were engraved on gold leaves. His other achievements were similarly pitched on a grand scale. He helped the poor and the needy, encouraged learning by giving liberal allowances to the *Pundits*, established charitable institutions at several centres and prompted enterprises which furthered the cause of religion and the social welfare of the community to which he belonged. In forming an estimate of him one should say that he though unscrupulous in the manner of acquiring wealth, he made a noble use of it and spent it lavishly for the good of others. He died in 1799.

Lala Babu.

Krishna Chandra, better known as *Lala Babu*, was born in 1775 (1182 B.S.). He was the grandson of *Dewan Ganga Govinda Sinha*. His father *Pran Krishna*, besides inheriting the estates of the late *Dewan* was heir to the property of his uncle, *Radhakanta*, who had adopted him as his son according to the *Dwasashayan* form. This addition to his ancestral property considerably augmented his income and *Pran Krishna* became one of the

wealthiest men of Bengal. He had served under Warren Hastings along with his father and so had acquired considerable experience in managing *semindari* affairs. He largely increased his patrimony. He was a pious man with a charitable turn of mind and made excellent arrangements for the proper performance of religious ceremonies and the rites of hospitality. He died in 1215 B.S.

During his boyhood *Krishna Chandra* stayed with his parents for some time in the North-West Provinces, (now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), where the *Kayasthas* of high families are known by the term *Lala*. It was thus that he perhaps, earned the name, *Lala Babu*. According to another account, it was the expression of endearment used by his grandfather when addressing his favourite grandson. Be that as it may, the boy came to be known as *Lala Babu* and this surname soon supplanted his real name in popular currency.

Lala Babu even when a mere boy, gave promise of those qualities of head and heart, which have since endeared his name to his countrymen. A beautiful story told of him, clearly shows that from his boyhood his heart was full of the milk of human kindness. His father had a pet parrot. One day the boy *Lala Babu* found it screeching and flapping its wings against the iron bars of its cage. The touching sight excited his pity and he released the bird at once, heedless of the punishment that lay in store for him.

Early in life *Lala Babu* developed a taste for reading for the acquisition of knowledge. His education was well looked after and he soon acquired considerable proficiency in Arabic and Persian; and won the reputation of being one of the best *Munshis* of his time. He was also well versed in Sanskrit. He knew by heart the greater portion of the *Srimat Bhagata* (the story of *Sree Krishna's* doings at *Brindaban*), a voluminous work containing about 18,000 slokas (stanzas). He could readily explain all the abstruse passages of this high philosophical work; and had a clear recollection into its many recondite verses. His handwriting was excellent and was much admired for its neatness and legibility.

He was by nature gentle and unassuming. His unostentatious simplicity was all the more laudable inasmuch as he was blessed with everything which man desires to possess wealth, honour, learning. Nothing however could turn him from his habitual modesty and his sense of rectitude. It is reported that his friends to test him, resorted to many subterfuges with the object of ensnaring him in one or other of the meshes of temptation, but *Lala Babu* came out of every ordeal unscathed. His strength of character remained unshaken and his hatred of evil deepened.

Lala Babu married the daughter of *Gaur Mohan Ghosh* of *Rushore*, named *Katyayani*.

Although the only son of one of the wealthiest of the aristocrats of Bengal *Lala Babu* was compelled to seek service under the Government. The circumstances which led him to this course are curious. His father *Pran Krishna*, was somewhat mean in his manner; and some of his pecuniary transactions were not in keeping with the dignity of his position. *Lala Babu*

disliked such dealings and on this account father and son were not on the best of terms. On a certain occasion, the Manager of his father's Estate gave to *Lala Babu's* servant a piece of cloth which was too short for him to wear. The servant was sorely disheartened. To draw the notice of his Master (*Lala Babu*) he put it round his waist, hanging it with a cord to make the *dhoti* appear of the required size. The contrivance succeeded and soon drew the notice of *Lala Babu* who ascertained all from the servant, on questioning him. Thereupon *Lala Babu* went to his father's Manager and ordered him to give his servant a proper piece of cloth to wear. The Manager reported the matter to *Pran Krishna*, who flew into a rage and said: "My son is old enough to earn money on his own account. If he is dissatisfied with the cloth given to his servant, let him earn something and give his servant a better and broader piece". This remark of the father wounded the sensitive spirit of *Lala Babu*; and he made up his mind to leave his father's place to shift for himself. He secured some money by selling a few of his wife's ornaments and after giving his servant a suitable piece of cloth he left *Kandi*, to carve his own way in the world.

Lala Babu was only 17 years old when he left his father's place and took service as a *Sheristadar* (Officer-in-Charge) in *Burdwan*. In those days it was a prize post, open only to the members of high families for eminent services rendered to the Government, *Lala Babu*, therefore, had no difficulty in securing the post. Though just a stripling, he carried an old head over young shoulders and soon proved himself an able and intelligent Officer. While at *Burdwan* he purchased the *Zemindari* of *Latbisalakshmipur*. The Government rewarded his ability by promoting him to the post of a Settlement Officer. He was entrusted with the charge of the settlement operations there. While so employed he also purchased the *Zemindari* rights of the three *Perganas*, *Rahang*, *Suir* and *Chabisakud*. Wherever he went he gave clear proof of a noble heart; at *Puri* he made arrangements for a monthly allowance of Rs. 300 to be given for the service of the God *Jaggurnath*.

But his stay in Orissa was not very long. In 1215 B.S. he had to hurry back to *Kandi* on receiving news of his father's illness. The journey was long as there was no railway communication in those days. He arrived just in time to have a last look at his dying father who lay unconscious on his death-bed. After his father's death he retired from Government Service and thenceforward devoted himself to the service of God. About this time he would stay in *Calcutta* for some time in order to enable him to study the *Shastras*. For this purpose he engaged the services of several learned *Pundits* and soon became well versed in *Shastric* lore. While in *Calcutta* he became very intimate with the *Raj* Family of *Sovabazar*. A close friendship sprang up between him and *Raja Rajkrishna* who turned over a new leaf owing to the holy instructions and the moral influence of *Lala Babu's* magnetic personality.

Although there were many calls upon his time and attention he never failed in the performance of those *Shastric* injunctions which Hinduism demands of its votaries. About half of his time was spent in holy meditation, prayer and in the perusal of religious books. He effected considerable

improvement in the matter of conducting the Daily Service of the Household God, *Radhaballava*. Distribution of alms to the poor, entertainment of guests, the rites of hospitality,—all these received his devoted attention. In order to keep also his passions in check he carefully regulated his diet. He was a strict vegetarian and even at that his fare was of the simplest kind.

Lala Babu did not stay long at *Kandi* after his retirement from Service. His heart was set upon going to the holy district of *Brindaban*; preparatory to going there, he set about making necessary arrangements. He gave up everything that was dear and near to him,—his beloved wife, his only son and his vast riches; doning the garb of a mendicant he determined to turn his steps towards *Brindaban*. Several accounts are to be found of the circumstances which prompted him in the course he took.

It is said that one day a fisherwoman came to his place with some fish. After waiting for some time for the price she became impatient and said: "It is getting dark, I must cross the river?" This expression of impatience on the part of the fisherwoman reached *Lala Babu's* ears and set him a-thinking. To him the words seemed pregnant with deep spiritual significance. It awakened him to the consciousness that he too would have to cross the sea of life, before darkness could overtake him. He, thereupon, made up his mind and gave up all he had to prepare himself for his great voyage out of the trammels of this world into the ocean of bliss. Other accounts attribute expressions of similar import to several other persons, his daughter, his servant, who uttered them in order to draw attention to the near approach of night.

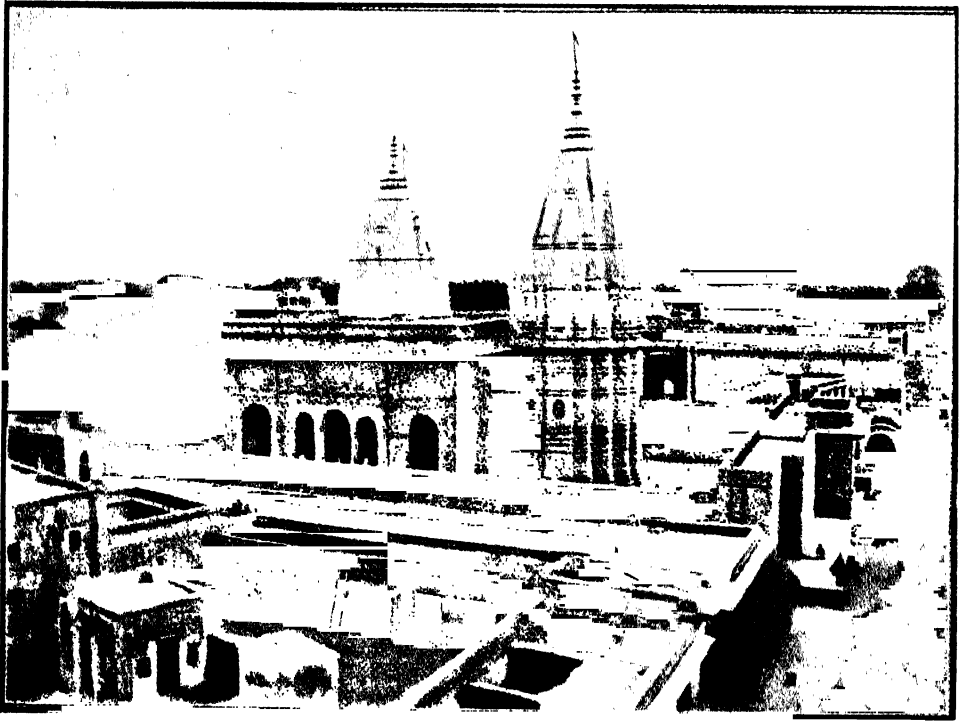
The real facts appear to be these. A certain *Brahmin* once came to his place to seek justice against the conduct of one of *Lala Babu's* Officers who had deprived him of his rent-free lands. *Lala Babu* promised to redress the *Brahmin's* grievances and fixed a date for making enquiries into the case. On the appointed day the *Brahmin* came but was not able to secure the interview he had sought. Despairing of the possibility of the recovery of his property, he committed suicide by hanging himself by means of a rope attached to the overhanging branch of a neighbouring tree. Next day, early in the morning, as *Lala Babu* was going out for a walk he was startled at the sight of a dead body suspended from a tree. Recognising it as the body of the ill-fated *Brahmin*, he guessed the cause of his sad end. The conviction was then borne upon his mind that the *Brahmin* had taken his life because he had failed to secure the redress of his grievances. *Lala Babu* was full of remorse. The extreme length to which a *Brahmin* could go for things earthly, filled him with dismay. He felt in the inmost recesses of his heart that wealth was the root of all evil in this world; that it was a thing to be avoided rather than to be sought. With such thoughts in his mind he determined to retire from this worldly life and set out for *Brindaban* the holy place where Sree Krishna lived as a child to prepare himself for the sacred state of asceticism.

LALA BABU AT BRINDABAN.

Lala Babu proceeded to *Brindaban* in the prime of his life; and it was in that holy place that he made his life remarkable both by his generous acts

of bounty and by his unstinted devotion. Before he left home, he made every arrangement for the education of his son and the control of his household. The *Rani Katyayani* ably managed the affairs of his house in his absence; it is recorded that when she was in great difficulties concerning several law-suits, *Lala Babu* returned for a while, settled things satisfactorily for her and went back again to continue his duties as a pious recluse. *Nilmani Bose* of *Chorebagan*, Calcutta was appointed Agent to conduct all law-suits as well as to manage all the *zemindari* affairs. *Lala Babu* took with him the enormous sum of twenty-five lakhs of rupees and had as his residence at *Brindaban* in a large mansion built by the *Maharaja* of *Bharatpur*. It was not at first known who he was nor for what purpose he had come there; but the fame of his charity soon spread abroad and excited the cupidity of thieves and dacoits, of whom there were great numbers in the neighbourhood. His house was plundered and money to the extent of three lakhs was stolen.

In 1227 B.S., *Jait*, while in the United-Provinces, *Lala Babu* set about for the achievement of two great objects, to build a magnificent temple and to retire from the world to lead the life of a devotee. For the materials to build his temple he applied to one of the Chiefs of *Rajputana*, who having heard of the purpose for which they were required gladly allowed him, free of charge, to carry away as much marble and stone as he required, from his territory. Arrangements were accordingly made for the transport of the materials to *Brindaban*, in which the *Rana* assisted as well. It so happened that the *Rana* fell out then with the British Government with regard to a treaty which he had been called upon to sign; and the vacillation which the *Rana* showed on the occasion was made the subject of inquiry. Sir Charles (then Mr.) Metcalfe (afterwards Governor-General of India), was at the time Resident at the Court of *Delhi* with plenary powers as Commissioner to deal with all offences against the British Government. It was insinuated that the *Rana* would have put his name to the treaty were it not for the intrigues of one *Krishna Chandra Sinha*, alias *Lala Babu*, a Native of Bengal, his *Dewan*. Mr. Metcalfe, without ascertaining how far this report was correct, at once issued an order for the arrest of *Krishna Chandra* upon a charge of State conspiracy. When his order reached the Magistrate of *Mathura* people of all classes began to ask one another how it was possible for a man so pious and so benevolent to be implicated in a crime so great. "No doubt," they said, "it is the act of some malicious persons who have poisoned the Commissioner's ears. We will follow *Lala Babu* to *Delhi* and will see what becomes of him." They did so; and no less than ten thousand persons, among whom were many *Mewatis*, *Jats*, and *Gujars*, escorted *Lala Babu* to *Delhi* with the firm determination to die in his cause should anything adverse happen. The escort gained strength as it went along; by the time it arrived at its destination it had swelled to double its original number. *Delhi* and its neighbourhood were not then as they are now. Mr. Metcalfe was alarmed at the multitude that thronged the streets of the city and he could not easily account for the popularity of the alleged culprit. He, therefore, thought it prudent to make private inquiries first as to the character and antecedents of *Lala Babu*; and subsequently, if necessary, to bring him to trial.



TEMPLE AT BRINDABAN.

Mr. Metcalfe had for his Persian writer a Bengalee named *Debi Prasad Roy* of *Santipur* in *Nuddea*. It was through this man as well as from other sources that he learned all about *Lala Babu*, his family and their long and faithful services to the Government. When he became fully satisfied as to his innocence he called *Lala Babu* to his presence and bade him be seated on a sofa. *Lala Babu* spoke in a dignified manner, such as befitted one so pure, with a heart incapable of offence against any individual, much less against the Honourable East India Company, whose salt he had eaten. He narrated at length all that had passed between him and the *Rana* and the wholesome advice he had tendered him to gain the good-will of the Company *Bahadur*. As to the allegation that he was *Dewan* of the Chief he replied: "I have had enough of service with man; I am now bent upon performing my duties towards God." On the next day Mr. Metcalfe took *Lala Babu* to the Court of the Emperor, where at a *Durbar* he introduced him to His Majesty as one, who with his ancestors, had performed many meritorious services to the Company *Bahadur*, in posts of the highest responsibility. At the request of the Resident, the Emperor, who was then the Fountain of Honour, offered *Lala Babu* the title of *Maharaja*, which, however, he very politely declined. About a month later *Lala Babu* returned from *Delhi* amidst the shouts of "*Jai Lala Babu ki ji!*" (victory to *Lala Babu*!) from the inhabitants of *Brajadham*.

During his stay at *Delhi* he purchased from the Family of *Raja Sher Singh* the extensive and compact *zemindari Pargana*, *Anupshair*. He also purchased in the district of *Mathura* almost all the villages which are famous for their being the place where the great *Avatar Krishna* (an incarnation of God) held his gambols and dalliances, as are narrated in the sacred *Puranas*, especially in the *Srimat Bhagabata*.

The Temple of *Lala Babu* at *Brindaban* is by far the highest of any that are to be seen in the North-West of India. It has a single dome with ample space all round the structure, being is built much after the style of the Temple of *Jaggurnath* at *Puri*. The *Thakur Krishna Chandrima* stands in the form of a statue on a marble pedestal and is the best adorned idol in all *Brindaban*. It stands to this day, a noble monument to the founder's religious zeal as well as bearing ample testimony to the architectural skill of the designer. Situated on the banks of the *Jamuna*, whose very name conjures up a thousand and one holy associations in the minds of the Hindus, the stately Temple with its exquisitely wrought image of stone inside, fills the heart of the beholder with exalted emotion of joy and devotion towards God. It is a sacred spot and completely overpowers the pious devotee who comes within its sacred precincts to worship and contemplate.

He purchased several estates near about *Mathura* and dedicated them to the service of the Idol *Krishna Chandrima*. According to his behest the sum of Rs. 100 is to be spent daily for the service of God; and one hundred persons are to be supplied daily with food. Nobody is allowed to take advantage of this charity for more than fortnight; in the case of members of his own family it is limited to one day. Besides his Temple at *Brindaban*,

another great work was the reconstruction of *Radhakunda*, an enterprise which cost *Lala Babu* a lakh of rupees.

No one is beyond the reach of cavi; and *Lala Babu* was no exception to the rule. There were persons who spread the report that *Lala Babu* was guilty of fraud in the acquisition of the estates he had dedicated to his Idol and for other charitable purposes. Such reports proceeded, no doubt, from malicious hearts; for it is highly improbable that a man who had renounced his vast estates, had severed the dearest ties of affection and had declined honours and titles, should stoop to questionable practices in order to acquire properties to be dedicated to the cherished God of his heart. An incident should enable the impartial observer to form his own opinion. The Ruling Chief of *Alwar* was indebted to *Lala Babu* for some acts which were of immense benefit to him. Out of gratitude the Chief sent some valuable presents. *Lala Babu* at first thought of declining the proffered gifts. Fearing, however, to wound the feelings of the Chief of *Alwar*, *Lala Babu* took only a diamond ring and piece of cloth to wear, sending back the remaining things offered.

Mention has already been made of the dangers which beset *Lala Babu* by reason of his intimacy with the Ruling Chief of *Rajputana*. Another and more insidious danger was in store for him. He had incurred the displeasure of the Raja of *Bharatpur* on account of some dispute over a piece of landed property. The Raja set a price on his head and *Lala Babu* had to remain in concealment for some time. The ruffians engaged to encompass this vile deed, killed a handsome-looking man whom they mistook for *Lala Babu*; and presented the severed head to the Raja of *Bharatpur*. The Raja expressed his complete satisfaction at the destruction of his enemy. Years after, when *Lala Babu* approached the Sage *Krishnadas Babaji* and expressed the desire to become his disciple, *Krishnadas* dissuaded him for the time being, as *Lala Babu* was not advanced enough to receive initiation at his hands. On *Lala Babu* pressing his demands, the Sage ordered him to wait on the Raja of *Bharatpur* for alms. According to these directions *Lala Babu* went to the Raja to beg alms. When his identity was disclosed, the Raja was filled with remorse that he had sought the head of one so simple and so unassuming and that for a trivial reason. He gave, in return a large plot of land to *Lala Babu* for the maintenance of his Idol, *Krishna Chandrima*.

Having erected Temples and endowed them with large estates, *Lala Babu* now thought of relinquishing his wordly career and espousing the life of a recluse. Of all places in the District of *Mathura*, *Gobardhan* is a secluded and consecrated spot, surrounded by the luxuriant foliage of *nim* and other trees, with a holy hill bearing the name. To this place *Lala Babu* repaired to lead the life of a *Sannyasi*. Here, away from all noise and bustle, amidst surroundings teeming with holy associations, with only the beauties of Nature to gaze upon, he built for himself a small dwelling-place; and in this woodland retreat he resided for the rest of his earthly life. Near by his cottage he built a Temple and in it he installed an idol, naming it *Runji*.

He had long heard of the fame of *Krishnadas Babaji*, a true and devoted *Vaishnava*; and out of many a *Yogis* living at that time in *Gobardhan*, *Lala Babu* selected him as his guide in the mysteries of that faith. A gentleman connected with the Family of *Lala Babu* thus writes of *Krishnadas Babaji*: "In 1861 I had an opportunity of visiting that venerable old man. He was then giving lessons to his disciples and though 101 winters have rolled over his head, yet he seems to retain all the vigour of his great and elastic mind. He received me courteously; and knowing that I was a *Brahmin*, made a profound bow to me. Never in my life did I behold a countenance so deep in piety, so bland in meekness and so calm and composed in philosophic sentiments as his. He gave me a graphic account of *Lala Babu* and the accident that caused his death. *Krishnadas Babaji* died at the age of 103."

Stories are extant as to the meeting of the Sage *Krishnadas* with *Lala Babu*. It is said that *Lala Babu* when he desired to become an ascetic used to practice all the rigorous rules found in *Hatta Yoga*. While going through these practices, *Lala Babu* was discovered by *Krishnadas*, who used to pass by, to go to a neighbouring tank to perform his morning ablutions and worship. Seeing *Lala Babu* undergoing all sorts of bodily contortions, the Saint just smiled on him and passed on. This aroused the curiosity of *Lala Babu*. He questioned the disciples of the Saint, who in their turn asked their Master. He replied that he smiled, because of the fact that *Lala Babu* was going through a series of wrong methods to become a *Yogi*. These practices were only necessary for men who were inclined to take upon themselves rigid austerities to strengthen their bodily and mental powers; but *Yogis* who desired salvation from the things of this world had higher things to do. Shortly after, when it was the time for the disciples to gather round the Master, *Lala Babu* humbly took his seat on one side and remained silent. *Krishnadas* spoke freely with his disciples, but did not breathe a word to *Lala Babu*. The next day *Lala Babu* again sat before the Saint; and asked him reverently why he was treated with such indifference. "What have I to do with you, as a man of wealth?" questioned the Saint, "my duty is only towards those who renounce all things and come to me." These words sank deep in the heart of *Lala Babu*, who, selling all that he had, once more came before the Saint. Again he noticed that *Krishnadas* was silent and took little or no notice of him. *Lala Babu* then said that he had given up all and was begging for his daily food; why then, he asked, was the Saint still indifferent towards him? *Krishnadas* smiled and looked upon him. "You have given up all, it is true" he said: "but do you not beg for alms in a place where all know you? What difficulty could there be for you to gather alms in a place where formerly many were your retainers or dependants? Everyone here knows *Lala Babu* and the lands he possessed. Your very past tenants will be able to support you more liberally than you can desire. Depart from this place; go to a place where none may know you and depend for your daily substance on those whom before you have not set eyes on; then come to me." *Lala Babu* promptly obeyed; and after a period of the severest trials he came

back to the Saint who received him with open arms and lovingly admitted him as his disciple. He was taught by *Krishnadas* the great doctrine of humility and love, found in *Vaishnava* teachings and so remarkably set forth in the life of *Chaitanya*. "You should be as the trees in the forest are; while the woodcutters ruthlessly cut their arms as branches, they gladly yield, even affording their destroyers shade and protection from the scorching sun, by their spreading foliage; or like the grass of the field although it is mercilessly tread on by the hoofs of the cattle yet it gives of its life, that others may chew and live."

Lala Babu continued a staunch disciple of *Krishnadas Babaji*, for whom he had the highest veneration. Feeling that he might be known to the people, who might come forward with plenty of food, he would not resort to more than one house a day. Even in this his wants being amply satisfied, he devised the plan of begging *incognito*. He would stir out only in the evening, wrapping himself in a blanket. Under cover of darkness he would present himself suddenly before a householder. He was satisfied if he chanced to get any alms, if not, he went back to his hermitage and remained without food. Gradually he gave up begging altogether and used to live on the fruits and roots of trees and plants. In course of time he even denied himself this diet and took to eating only the withered leaves of trees and plants and dried roots. Thus by a graduated course of abstention he freed himself from the cravings of hunger and subdued one of the most exacting appetites that oppress all mortal creatures.

So deep an impression did he create in the minds of the people of Upper India, as a *Yogi*, that he was canonised by them as a Saint. It is said that he never associated with or talked to a worldly person, once he assumed the *Yogi's* garb. An anecdote is related in respect to the intended visit which *Parekji*, a celebrated banker wished to pay him. He sent word that if the banker came in the dress of a *Sannyasi*, he would be welcome, otherwise not. *Parekji* had a mind to retire from business and to lead the life of a devoted *Vaishnava*, but when he heard that *Lala Babu* had asked him to give up all and follow him he demurred and went back. Wealth was sweeter to the banker than the strict life of ascetic.

The circumstances under which *Lala Babu* met his death, clearly show how averse he was to mixing with men and women of the world. The *Maharani* of *Gwalior* once came to *Mathura* on a pilgrimage. She had heard of *Lala Babu* and his good works and was so struck with the reports of his saintly character that she was seized with a strong desire to lay herself prostrate at his feet. She approached *Lala Babu* but he ran away from her and in the act was knocked down by the *Maharani's* horse which stood near by. He was immediately removed to his dwelling-place where he succumbed to his injuries, with his head resting on the lap of his spiritual guide and friend *Krishnadas Babaji* (1228 B.S., the year 1821). Another report says that the *Maharani* had come to pay her respects to him, escorted by a great retinue of horsemen. *Lala Babu* was determined to avoid any such public display of homage and in wending his way unknown through the coming cavalcade, was kicked to death by one of the horses of the

large retinue of the *Maharani*. He was 46 years old when he so died. The untimely passing away of *Lala Babu* cast a deep gloom over the whole of *Mathura*. The people wept in grief and felt that a Saint had passed away from their midst, who was in the world, yet not of it.

LALA BABU'S DESCENDANTS.

Lala Babu's son, *Narayan Sinha* was only thirteen years old at the time of his father's death. His mother, the *Rani Katyayani* was appointed his guardian. She was a pious lady and spent large sums of money in doing good to others. *Narayan Sinha* had three wives but was not blessed with a male issue. He gave permission to his first and third wives, the second having predeceased him, to adopt sons after his death. In pursuance of this direction his first wife adopted *Hari Mohan Ghose*, the second son of her own brother, and afterwards known as *Raja Pratap Chandra Bahadur*, C.S.I. The third wife adopted *Hari Mohan's* younger brother, *Ram Mohan*, afterwards known as *Iswar Chandra*. *Raja Pratap Chandra's* name is associated with many good works and the Government recognised his worth by honouring him with the titles of *Raja Bahadur* and Companion of the Star of India. He promoted education and was the founder of the High School at *Kandi*. *Raja Pratap Chandra* had four sons, *Giris Chandra*, *Purna Chandra* (afterwards *Raja Purna Chandra*), *Kanti Chandra*, and *Sarat Chandra* together with three daughters, *Pravabati*, *Lilabati* and *Priyambada*. *Giris Chandra* founded the present charitable dispensary at *Kandi*. He had no sons and so adopted *Sris Chandra*, the younger son of his brother *Raja Purna Chandra*; *Sris Chandra*, however, died shortly after. He had two sons *Manindra Chandra* (afterwards *Raja Manindra Chandra Sinha*, M.B.E.) who died the year he was made *Raja*, 1922, and *Fanindra Chandra* who died as a mere boy. *Raja Manindra Chandra* left three children, of whom the eldest is *Bimala Chandra* born in 1918. The descendants of the *Raj Family* of *Paikpara* and *Kandi* now live in *Calcutta* in a building which is still known as *Lala Babu's Kutir*, (*Lala Babu's House*).

The fame of *Lala Babu* will live for many a year to come; for like the great and glorious *Buddha*, though in a lesser way, he set aside riches and honour to embrace the life of a simple recluse, that others may gain thereby; and to this day there are thousands that resort to the sacred Shrine at *Brindaban* and affectionately call to mind the name of the great Saint who gave up all he had in order to show humanity the way to salvation, by renouncing the world and its riches and espousing holiness and charity.

H. W. B. MORENO.

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Burials in Calcutta : 1782-1788.

EXTRACTS from the old Burial Register of St. John's Church have already been published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, commencing with the year 1713 and ending with the year 1774:

1713 to 1755: Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.

1759 to 1761: Vol. V. pp. 136 to 162.

1762 to 1774: Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

By the courtesy of the Rev. Canon Parker and the Rev. O. W. Birch, Chaplains of St. John's Church, we have been able to arrange for a transcription of the entries from 1775 to 1788. These have not been easy to decipher, and our thanks are due to Mr. Birch for the pains taken by him to verify some of the most difficult cases.

The entries for the period between 1775 and 1781 were printed in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXXI, pp. II: and the remaining entries from 1782 to 1788 are now given:

1782.

- | | | |
|------|-----|--|
| Jan. | 1. | John Bear, invalid. |
| .. | 1. | Mary Ann Bodle, an infant. |
| .. | 24. | Mr. Warren. |
| .. | 25. | Joseph Lief. |
| .. | 30. | Mary Patterson, a child. |
| .. | 30. | Sarah Heverstone. |
| Feb. | 8. | Mrs. Ann Chambers, widow (1). |
| .. | 10. | Benjamin Homes, an infant. |
| .. | 12. | Harriet Impey, an infant (2). |
| .. | 27. | Francis Law, inhabitant. |
| .. | 28. | Mr. John Bell, inhabitant. |
| Mar. | 3. | Mrs. Selby (3). |
| .. | 7. | Mary Lawson. |
| .. | 12. | John Scott Taylor. |
| .. | 17. | Mr. Edward Sharpe, painter and glazier |

(1) The mother of Sir Robert Chambers. She was born in 1713 and was therefore 69 at the time of her death. William Hickey (Vol. II, p. 127) describes her as "a worthy and cheerful old lady." Mrs. Fay, writing on February 10, 1782, says that she was greatly affected by the departure on the 2nd of her grandson Thomas Fitzmaurice Chambers with the Hoseas in the *Grosvenor*: and was seized with a violent illness on the 7th.

(2) Daughter of the Chief Justice:

(3) Lewis Selby, keeping of the gaming house in Mission Row (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 202-203), married Mehetable Gasquoine on January 13, 1777. His wife's name is given as Sarah in a baptismal entry of September 17, 1783: but in the entry of the death of this child (Norman) on May 16, 1787, the name "Meheatable" appears as that of the mother. See also entry (below) of November 24, 1780, for the death of another child.

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- Mar. 20. Mrs. Cameron, widow.
 „ 24. John Leak, belonging to the Pilot Service.
 „ 25. Diana White, an infant.
 Apl. 15. The Reverend Mr. Thomas Yate. Chaplain of the Garrison of Fort William..... If the Most extensive Benevolence and good will towards his Fellow Creatures, added to a contented, easy and quiet Disposition, could render a man happy in this World. Reader, thou hast the Satisfaction of knowing that the deceased was completely so, and no doubt but his Reward will follow him (4).
 „ 24. Mary Ann Oliphant, an infant.
 „ 24. Lewis Grant, an infant.
 „ 24. James Blow, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Capt. John Grant, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 May 12. Lieut. Lewis Reed, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 18. George Morris, an infant.
 „ 20. Mr. George Berkley, late Surgeon of the Prince William Privateer.
 „ 24. Mr. William Prime, purser of the above Ship.
 „ 28. Hugh Caine, murdered.
 „ 30. Mrs. Emilia Graves.
 „ 30. John Kefner, inhabitant.
 „ 30. John Aftone.
 Copy sent per Lively Packet. William Johnson, Chaplain.
 June 8. James Ogden, late Pilot in the Hon'ble Company's Service (4).
 „ 12. Mr. Charles Moore, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Mr. Stevenson Carpenter.
 „ 15. Mrs. Jane Younge.
 „ 23. Mr. William Peters, late Commander of a country ship.
 „ 24. Mr. Oldmeadow, Assistant Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 25. Major Richard Sturgeon, late in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 27. Mr. Thomas York, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Henry Ement.
 „ 28. Charles Erskine.
 July 4. Mr. William Flaxman.
 „ 16. Mr. John Mitchell, Capt. of a country vessel.
 „ 25. Mr. George Chisum.
 „ 31. John Bolton Taylor.
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(4) *Thomas Yate*—appointed junior chaplain at the Presidency on September 6, 1708 and senior chaplain on April 13, 1769. Transferred to the chaplaincy of the Garrison on December 31, 1771: and succeeded at the Presidency by Dr. James Burn, who returned to Europe on March 16, 1784. The entry is made by William Johnson who was appointed junior chaplain on January 1, 1772, and became senior chaplain in the place of Dr. Burn. For an account of Yate's capture by the French on his voyage out see Hyde's *Parish of Bengal*.

(4) *Mrs. Ann Ogden*, widow, married Hugh Darley on February 11, 1784. She was Hickey's landlady when he first set up house in Calcutta in 1778 (Vol. II, p. 134).

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- Aug. 14. Mr. Hugh Henry.
 „ 18. Mr. John Wheatland, Free Merchant killed in a duel.
 „ 31. Gustavus Green, seaman.
 Sept. 7. John Johnson, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Mr. Samuel Grindall, Free Merchant.
 „ 9. Mr. Charles Timings, Surgeon of the Ship *Tartar*.
 „ 11. John Roberts, seaman.
 „ 13. Francis Brampton, a child.
 „ 14. Joseph Boling.
 „ 15. Mr. William Macrae, 2nd Mate of the Resolution Indiaman.
 Oct. 19. Joseph Redshaw.
 „ 20. Richard Bell, seaman.
 „ 22. Mr. Henry Gifford, Surgeon.
 „ 25. William Grime, seaman.
 „ 28. James Hogg, taylor.
 Nov. 2. Charles Reynolds, inhabitant.
 „ 4. Mr. Archibold Crawford, merchant.
 „ 7. Mr. David Philips, Commander of a country ship.
 „ 10. Thomas Powney, Esq., inhabitant, late of Madras (5).
 „ 12. Mrs. Barclay, inhabitant.
 „ 13. Fernandes Hardam, late Master in the Pilot Service.
 „ 17. James Beecher, Esq., a Member of the Board of Trade.
 „ 18. Mr. Isaacs.
 Dec. 8. Mr. John Christie, pilot.
 „ 10. Mrs. Doughty, widow.
 „ 12. Mr. Edward Marriott, late of Culpee.

1783.

- Jan. 11. John Fraser, carpenter.
 „ 19. Samuel Deer, joiner.
 „ 29. Mrs. Murray, wife of Lieut. Robert Murray of the Cavalry.
 Feb. 3. Job Wise, a pauper from the Hospital.
 „ 4. Henry Gillespie, an infant.
 „ 10. Michael Tender, mariner.
 „ 13. Mrs. Tanner, wife of Lieut. Tanner.
 „ 22. Mr. Frederic Davy, late a Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 Mar. 1. Lewis Morris, late servant to Mr. Molony (6).
 „ 4. Mr. Ephraim Welch.
 „ 22. Ann, a daughter of the late Capt. Cosby, deceased.
 „ 25. Lieut. Joseph Richards, of the Bombay Establishment.
 „ 27. Ann Bate, an infant.

(5) One of the seventeen children of Mrs. Mary Powney who died at Madras on May 7, 1780, aged "upwards of one hundred years": see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 211. A close friend of Warren Hastings. George Powney (1779-1800), Henry Saverne Powney (1781-1785) and Edward Powney (1797-1825) were all writers on the Madras Establishment.

(6) A. Molony was Collector of Customs from 1783 to 1786.

Mar.	28.	Mr. Samuel Touchet, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (7).
Apl.	4.	Patrick Sherlock, mariner.
"	6.	William Macdonald, servant to Mr. Petric.
"	8.	Carolina Burgess, an infant.
"	12.	Mr. William Mercer, mariner.
"	12.	Mr. John Norfor, Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service (8).
"	19.	Thomas Spears, Boatswain of the Alfred Indiaman.
"	19.	Mr. James Buchanan, 2nd officer of the Latham Indiaman.
"	22.	Ann Dobbin, an infant.
"	23.	John Smith.
"	26.	Mr. Peter Crawford.
May	1.	William Bruce, Esq., a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service to which he was an ornament and example (9).
"	2.	William Crowley, an infant.
"	5.	Mr. John Lang, wine merchant.
"	5.	William Goddard, gaoler.
"	6.	Mr. Robert Robertson, carpenter.
June	17.	Elizabeth Ivory, an infant.
"	18.	Mrs. Sarah Woorsencroft, wife of Mr. Woorsencroft, shopkeeper (10).
July	1.	Henry Walters, a child.
"	1.	Mr. Blair, late a Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
"	3.	William Patrick, a child.
"	5.	Mr. John Rose.
"	5.	William Couch, carpenter.
"	13.	Mr. Pennngwick. [query: Pennyquick] late of the Madras Military Establishment.
"	16.	Mr. Thomas Thrasker, late Commander of a country ship.
"	18.	Samuel Piper, taylor.
"	26.	Henry McCleod, belonging to the Pilot Service.
Aug.	2.	Frederic Stevens, cook of the Chesterfield Indiaman.
"	8.	Mr. Lawrence Purchase, inhabitant.
"	10.	Alexander M'Connick, constable.

(7) Civil Paymaster from 1775 to 1780. His brother Peter was also a Civil Servant : and their sister (" Bibby " Motte) married Thomas Motte and accompanied Mrs. Hastings to Europe.

(8) Both William Hickey and Mrs. Fay mention Norfor as an amateur actor. Hickey (Vol. III, p. 209), says that he excelled in female parts. Mrs. Fay (Forster's edn. p. 194), writes : " Lieut. Norfor as Belvidera [in *Venice Preserved*] shewed very superior talents. He has rather an effeminate appearance off the stage, yet I am told he is a very brave officer when on service ". See also the *Bengal Gazette* for February 7, 1781 : " Mr. Norfor played Belvidera with such an amorous glow of features and utterance and was so characteristic in the description of madness as to procure (as usual) universal applause ".

(9) Adjutant-General to the Bengal Army from 1780 to 1783.

(10) Sarah Johnson, widow, married Thomas Woorsencroft on January 27, 1780.

- Aug. 13. Thomas Johnson, boatswain of the Chesterfield Indiaman.
 „ 13. Thomas Archable, late Steward of a ship.
 „ 14. James Frudd, late servant to Col. Watson.
 „ 15. James Keighly, an infant.
 „ 18. Mr. Peter Martin, Cooper.
 „ 20. Mr. Richard Thoresby, 2nd Mate of the Norfolk Indiaman.
 „ 20. Mr. John Craigie.
 „ 21. Thomas Thrasker, an infant.
 „ 24. Mrs. Ann Catharina Higgs.
 „ 27. John Johnson, late carpenter of the Hinchinbrooke Indiaman.
 Aug. 28. Thomas Poynting, Esq. Commander of the Resolution Indiaman (11).
 Copy and Duplicate sent by the Nerbudda Packet and Rodney Indiaman. Nov. Ye 28th, 1783. William Johnson, Chaplain.
- Sept. 1. Mr. Charles Smith, a member of the Unitas Fratrum.
 „ 3. William Harris, late servant to Mr. Keighly.
 „ 4. Edward Watters, an infant.
 „ 7. John Jott, late servant to the Reverend Mr. Johnson.
 „ 12. Opey Stewart, late servant to Sir John D'Oyly.
 „ 13. Naney Frenck, an infant.
 „ 15. John Horner, late a Master in the Pilot Service.
 „ 17. Mr. Lindsay, late mariner.
 „ 17. Lewis Selby, an infant.
 „ 21. Mr. William Bartley, late Deputy Commissioner of Ordnance.
 „ 22. Mr. Le Gross, a Factor in the Hon'ble Company's Service, who in a fit of Insanity shot himself.
 „ 23. Mary Fielder, an infant.
 „ 21. Mr. Joseph Bowadale, surgeon.
 „ 28. Lydia Lloyd, an infant.
- Oct. 1. Mr. [John] Sampson, master attendant (12).
 „ 4. Mr. Kingston, Attorney-at-Law.
 „ 6. Mrs. Dorothy Pawson.
 „ 10. George Robinson, carpenter of Norfolk Indiaman.
 „ 11. Mr. Archibald Mitchell, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Lieut. Thomas Smith.
 „ 28. Alexander Black, gunner's mate of the Barwell Indiaman.
- Nov. 5. Benjamin Wroe, Esq., late a Major in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 7. Mr. James Pasher, cadet.
 „ 8. Mr. Francis Greenway, inhabitant.
 „ 12. Mr. Henry Stocker, belonging to the Sea Service.
 „ 15. Mr. Strahan, Surgeon's mate of the Belmont Indiaman.
 „ 15. John Jones, inhabitant.

(11) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVII, p. 206-208.

(12) Master attendant from 1777 to 1783.

- Nov. 16. Mr. Thomas Edmondson, 3rd Officer of the ship *Istambole*.
 „ 18. John Jones, who several years officiated as clerk to the Chapel.
 „ 22. Robert Dince, in the employ of Mr. Herbert Harris.
 „ 23. William Gilbert, an infant.
 „ 25. John Haldman, sailor, belonging to the *Southampton* Indiaman, and murdered by some Portuguese sailor.
 „ 27. Edmond Le Strong, Steward of the *Talbot* Indiaman.
 „ 28. Mr. Robt. Wheler, late chief mate of the *Ann and Amelia* country ship.
 „ 29. Jeremiah Holland, late an officer on board the *Success* a country ship.
 „ 30. Margaret Whitaker, inhabitant.
 Dec. 3. John Nicholls, late servant to Mr. William Johnson.
 „ 4. John Ewen, late Commander of a country vessel.
 „ 4. Peter Stratton, seaman.
 „ 4. Charles Stewart, seaman belonging to the *Lord Macartney* Indiaman.
 „ 4. Archibold Johnson, late in the employ of Mr. Griffith.
 „ 7. Samuel Lawley, servant to Capt. Morgan.
 „ 7. Peter Pigou, Esq., late Commander of the *Blanford* Indiaman.
 „ 8. Mr. John Combers, watchmaker.
 „ 9. Charles Vanrixtell, an infant (13).
 „ 10. James Pearson, an infant.
 „ 12. Richard Roberts, ship carpenter.
 „ 13. William Keates, seaman.
 „ 12. Lieut. Andrew Lymes, of the Artillery.
 „ 13. John Hunt, seaman murdered by a European Portuguese sailor.
 „ 14. Mr. Brydges Kearney, a Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 14. Thomas Morse, seaman.
 „ 17. Mr. Favell Wordsworth, a gentleman belonging to the *Madras Establishment* (14).
 „ 24. Joseph Kator, seaman. Shot by an accident.
 „ 26. John Williams, of the Pilot Service.
 „ 26. Mrs. Hickey, wife of Mr. Hickey. Attorney-at-Law (15).

1784.

- Jan. 3. John Latham, baker, belonging to the *Talbot* Indiaman.
 „ 5. Eliza Beanland, an infant.

(13) Son of Alexander Vanrixtell, Sheriff in 1780, and member of the Board of Trade, who died in Calcutta on January 16, 1785.

(14) Aged 23. Writer at Fort Saint George 1777: factor 1782. Brother of James Wordsworth, Paymaster of the Patna Militia. His grave in the South Park Street cemetery is next to Charlotte Hickey's.

(15) Charlotte Barry: the "wife" of the author of the *Memoirs*.

-
- Jan. 6. Mr. Anthony Bird.
 „ 6. Alexander Frothingham.
 „ 9. Lewis Griffiths, an infant.
 „ 10. Mr. Satchell, late an Attorney-at-Law.
 „ 12. Alexander Ruston, seaman.
 „ 20. Mr. Jeremiah Baker, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Mrs. Mary Chapman.
 „ 30. Augustus Cleveland, Esq., Collector of Baughlepore; the India Company by his death sustains the loss of a Faithful and Experienced servant. His civilization of a numerous race of people from a state of Barbarity accompanied with every act of violation which the military had long in vain attempted to suppress, evinces the humane, very amiable character of the deceased (16).
 Copy and Duplicate sent home. William Johnson, Chaplain.
- Feb. 12. John Young, seaman belonging to a country vessel.
 „ 12. William Rouch, seaman belonging to the Bessborough Indiaman.
- Mar. 13. John Jackson, an infant.
 „ 13. George Craig, seaman belonging to a country ship.
 „ 23. Mrs. Henryetta Rutter.
 „ 23. Mrs. Castleman.
 „ 27. Capt. Robt. Grotts Wallace Johnson, of the Engineers.
 „ 30. Rowland Jackson, Esq., Physician (17).
- Apl. 5. Christopher William Perkins, Ensign.
 „ 18. Mr. George Arnold Roote, inhabitant.
 „ 18. John Clargo, late servant to Mr. Belli.
 „ 19. Mr. Bryant Troughton.
- May 5. William May, taylor belonging to the Bessborough Indiaman.
 „ 12. John Thomas, sergeant.
 „ 21. Mr. Thomas Morris.
 „ 22. Thomas Wright, seaman.
 „ 22. Mr. Blackwell, inhabitant.
 „ 27. David Spencer, an infant.
 „ 29. James Burrell, an infant.
 „ 30. John Smith, inhabitant.
- June 7. Alexander Nicoll, carpenter (18).
 „ 11. Ann, wife of William Bodle, blacksmith.
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(16) Cleveland died on board the *Atlas* Indiaman on reaching the Sandheads. He was on his way to the Cape in search of health. Mrs. Hastings was a fellow-passenger. The body was taken to Calcutta for burial.

(17) See the letters of Mrs. Fay (Forster's edn., p. 188): "Dr. Jackson is physician to the Company (1780) and in very high practice besides. The Doctor's Lady is a native of Jamaica and like those 'children of the Sun', frank and hospitable to a degree".

(18) Note: The entries from this point are signed by Thomas Blanshard, Chaplain. William Johnson became senior chaplain in this year (1784).

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- June 16. Frederic Lampe, merchant.
 „ 19. Mr. Angus Macpherson, Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 19. Benjamin Thomas, a seaman.
 „ 22. Andrew Berger, a Danish seaman.
 „ 29. Richard Cradlestone, mariner.
 July 5. William Cragg, late a cadet.
 „ 6. Francis Atkinson, ensign from Madras.
 „ 10. Charlott Sophia Daughter of Samuel Greenway, sailmaker.
 „ 11. Lieut. Donald Grant in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 11. Christopher Smith, seaman.
 „ 14. Edward Stephenson, Esq., a member of the Board of Trade (19).
 „ 14. Peter Allen, seaman.
 „ 29. John Johnson, a seaman.
 „ 31. Kenneth Murchisson, ship carpenter to the Hon'ble Company.
 Aug. 1. Jacob Phillips, a Danish seaman.
 „ 1. John, son of John Story, a cook.
 „ 1. Niel Hendrickson, a Danish seaman.
 „ 3. Peter Cumming, Surgeon's mate of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 3. William Donald, Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 4. Richard Lawless, late a Lieut. in His Majesty's Service.
 „ 7. William Thomas, son of William Walton, a cook.
 „ 8. James Murdoch, Ships' Steward of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 9. Charles Connell, merchant.
 „ 12. Eliza, an infant daughter of Lieut.-Col. Allen Macpherson and Eliza his wife (19).
 „ 22. Adam Stark, auctioneer.
 „ 24. John Little, a bailiff.
 „ 24. Benjamin Kampholt, a Danish seaman.
 „ 26. William Burnett, Surgeon in the Company's service.
 „ 27. Walter Harper, watchmaker.
 „ 27. Jonat Lundberg, a seaman.
 Sept. 4. George, infant illegitimate son of the late George Bogle, Esq.
 „ 10. George Wright, Coopers Mate, of the Southampton Indiaman.
 „ 10. Conreid Nordenfeldt, seaman of the Princess Royal a Danish ship.
 „ 16. Captain Bennet Hoskyns.
 „ 22. Elizabeth, infant daughter of Mr. Page Keble, Marine paymaster, and Elizabeth his wife (20).
 Oct. 2. Mr. Alexander Armstrong, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Edward Groves, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Elizabeth, wife of John Bignel. Commander of the Eliza Snow.
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(19) Commercial Chief and President at Patna, 1783.

(20) Page Keble was Marine Paymaster from 1775 to 1785. His first wife Christiana, died on July 21, 1777: and he married Elizabeth Metham on July 3, 1782. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 145.

- Oct. 8. William Johnson, coach maker (21).
 „ 9. Roger Webb, midshipman of an Indiaman.
 „ 11. Edward Wheler, Esq., first in the Supreme Council (22).
 „ 15. James, infant son of Godliss Crahle, inhabitant (23).
 „ 18. Neels Pedersen Schiot, a Danish seaman.
 „ 19. John Ludwig, a Danish seaman.
 „ 23. Thomas Hinds, Lieut. in His Majesty's 101st Regiment.
 „ 25. Thomas Foy, seaman.
 „ 27. Mr. John Job, 3rd mate of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 29. Mr. William Smith, assistant surgeon.
- Nov. 1. John Smedley, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 3. Marcus Blomstrand, a Danish seaman.
 „ 4. James Nairn, ship's Steward of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 9. Mr. Charles Robartes, a lunatic from the Insane House.
 „ 9. Mr. James Macqueen. Ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 10. Alexander Webster, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 10. Jacob Cormantung, a Danish seaman.
 „ 10. John Beck, steward of the Insane House.
 „ 17. Alexander Shaw, gunner's mate of the Hillsborough
 „ 17. Henry, infant son of Capt. William Wilson.
 „ 19. Mr. David Haldane, Lieut. A lunatic of a Insane House.
 „ 19. John Lever, a taylor.
 „ 19. James Grey, boatswain of the Vansittart Indiaman.
 „ 20. Thomas Williams, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 22. Robert Yeoman, a pilot.
 „ 24. George Middlewood, shopkeeper.
 „ 24. John Brown, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 25. James Dixon, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 27. John Harper, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 27. Walter Boye, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 27. Mrs. Sabina Peacock, widow (24).

(21) Lived in Mission Row: see letter from him to his mother quoted in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 203 s.v. Lewis Selby.

(22) The inscription upon his tomb in South Park Street cemetery record that he was the third son of Sir Edward Wheler, Bart., of Leamington Hastings in the county of Warwick. He was fifty-one at the time of his death.

(23) This curious surname occurs in the marriage register. Charles Pickman, monthly writer in the office of Ordnance, married Elizabeth Crahle on January 14, 1785.

(24) See letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, p. 352. Her husband Francis Peacock, had been the Agent for the Company for the purchase of naval stores. Mrs. Peacock and her daughter (who was also named Sabina) had come out to Bengal at the end of 1782 to recover what they could from the wreck of Mr. Peacock's fortune. They were recommended to Hastings by Barwell and his sister Mary, and also by Scott Waring. Hastings mentions the death of Mrs. Peacock at the end of a letter written to his wife from Calcutta on November 20, 1784: "Mrs. Peacock is dead and left the charge of placing her daughter, on my conscience. But Larkins and his excellent little Wife have relieved me by taking her into their house which is already filled with other Objects of their compassion, and are both affectionately kind to her". The young lady however, gave a good deal of trouble not only to Larkins, but to Hastings who

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- Dec. 1. David Bulger, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 1. Thomas Dobson, seaman of the same ship.
 „ 2. William Wilson, gunner of the same ship.
 „ 3. John Goodwin, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
 „ 3. John Muir, gunner's servant of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 5. William Montague, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 6. Alexander Mills, midshipman of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 7. Mr. Thomas Miller, surgeon of the Camden Indiaman.
 „ 7. Charles Mcbean, a seaman.
 „ 9. William Bradley, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 9. Mr. Isaac Baldwin, chief mate of the Camden.
 „ 13. Allen Manayhorn, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 15. Mr. George Harrison, surgeon of the Establishment.
 „ 15. William Skelton, gunner's mate of the Valentine.
 „ 15. James, an infant son of Thomas Quarterman, inhabitant.
 „ 17. Robert Pickering, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 17. Charlota, an infant daughter of Michael Derozio Portuguese Protestant.
 „ 18. William Hoster, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 18. John King, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 20. Mrs. White, widow. A poor lunatic.
 „ 21. James William Payne, a Lieut. in the King's Service.
 „ 23. Thomas Ross, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 23. Mary Evans, an infant.
 „ 23. Eleanor Miers, an infant.
 „ 25. James Lambeth Oldham, gentleman of the Valentine.
 „ 27. Richard Overend, monthly writer to Mr. William Camac.
 „ 29. George Wilkinson, seaman of the Valentine.
 „ 30. Thomas Green, aged about twelve years of the Camden.
 „ 30. James Rayner, a constable.

N.B.—A copy and duplicate of the Register of Burials for the year 1784 were sent to the Court of Directors by the Berrington and Hillsborough Indiamen. T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1785.

- Jan. 1. Mr. James Nichols, purser of the Valentine Indiaman.
 „ 1. Mr. Thomas Pye James, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Mr. William Barnes, from the Insane House
 „ 11. Thomas Quarterman, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 24. Richard Dean, inhabitant.
 „ 26. Mr. John Taylor, tailor.

provided her with an allowance. Eventually on May 10, 1790, she married Francis Pierard junior merchant, "a young man in the service of Good Character", whom we find at Midnapore as Collector in 1795, and at Chittagong in the same office from 1797 to 1800. He can be identified with the "F. Pierard", whose name appears on the cup presented to Westminster School in 1777 by old boys in Calcutta.

Jan.	26.	Richard Woodmas, inhabitant.
Feb.	4.	William Aldridge, seaman of the Mansfield Indiaman.
„	20.	Thomas Robinson, a boy from the Charity School.
„	26.	Mr. Hugh Castleman, senior pilot in the Company's Service (25).
Mar.	1.	John Brown, a pauper.
„	4.	Edward Vaughan, inhabitant.
„	5.	Mary Theresa Madec, an infant.
„	21.	Mrs. Martha Goodlad, wife of Richard Goodlad, Esq. Sen, merchant (26).
„	24.	Thomas Jones, a seaman.
Apl.	6.	Samuel Barnet, inhabitant.
„	7.	John, an infant. Illegitimate son of Capt. John McClary.
„	8.	Henry Lister, a seaman.
„	13.	Mr. James Robert Wadeson, Attorney-at-Law.
„	14.	Mr. Jones Broganer, officer of a Danish ship.
„	23.	John James, an infant son of Mr. James Hennes, inhabitant.
„	26.	Samuel Noon, Farrier.
May	1.	Mrs. Elizabeth Crisp, widow.
„	3.	Ann, an infant daughter of Robert White, mariner.
„	5.	Samuel Edington, a boy aged twelve years.
„	8.	Mary Rayner, spinster a poor woman.
„	29.	Francis Sloan, chief mate of the Fortune a country ship.
June	10.	Samuel Stewart, a poor inhabitant.
„	23.	Charles Gardner, carpenter.
„	28.	William Mainwaring, servant to Messrs. Gordon and Hay, Printers.
July	1.	John Kinnety, a youth, son of Mr. John Kinnety, inhabitant.
„	3.	Charles Short, Esq., free merchant (27).
„	5.	Joseph, an infant son of Mr. James Savage.
„	7.	William Rye, blacksmith.
„	14.	Richard Dunlop, ship carpenter.
„	16.	Daniel Beate Cook.
„	16.	Alexander Moore, mariner.
„	21.	John Cartwright, infant son of Mr. John Baxter and Mary Ann his wife.
„	21.	Mr. Robert Gooland, Cooper.
„	21.	Andrew Forbes, Seaman in the pilot service.
„	21.	Charles, infant son of Mr. Charles Munro, inhabitant.
„	23.	Henry Wilson, inhabitant.
„	28.	William Shields, seaman in the pilot service.

(25) Hugh Castleman married Caroline Jennings on December 21, 1784. His first wife Mary Lamb whom he married on July 14, 1772, died on March 23, 1784.

(26) Richard Goodlad was Collector of Rungpore from 1782 to 1787 and Salt Agent for the 24-Pergunnahs from 1790 to 1800. Married Martha Redfearr. on November 15, 1784.

(27) Name-father of Short Street and Shorts Bazar in Calcutta. He was an extensive owner of land and house-property.

- July 28. Eleanor, wife of George Williamson, Esq., Vendumaster (28).
 „ 31. Leonard Dobbin, inhabitant.
 Aug. 4. John Salthouse, coachman to Mr. Treves.
 „ 4. Michael Sloane, constable.
 „ 9. Ann, an infant. Illegitimate daughter of Capt. William Richardson.
 „ 14. William Saunders, bailife.
 „ 15. John Macmin, watchmaker.
 „ 25. Mr. Henry Shearman, Commander of a country ship.
 „ 28. Richard Shepperd, inhabitant.
 „ 29. George Scott, servant to Capt. William Collings.
 Sept. 4. Frances Davis, a female infant.
 „ 4. James Arnott, auctioneer.
 „ 8. Lieut. Robert Leslie of His Majesty's 44th Regiment.
 „ 9. Mr. John Wordie, merchant.
 „ 11. John Decayne, mariner.
 „ 15. George Welch, shipwright.
 „ 21. Robert Edmondson, Tavern-keeper.
 „ 28. Mr. Samuel Pawson, free merchant.
 „ 28. Richard McVeagh, Esq., master in Chancery (29).
 Oct. 3. Mr. George Gardner, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Mr. Robert Howitt, surgeon.
 „ 10. Simon, son of John Hollow, a monthly writer.
 „ 15. Eleanora, daughter of Mr. Hugh Honeycomb and Eleanora his wife.
 „ 22. Charles Churchill, Esq., Private Secretary to the Governor-General (30).
 „ 23. Charles Pickman, infant son of Charles Pickman monthly writer (31).
 „ 24. Mr. David Killican, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (32).
 „ 25. John, an infant illegitimate son of Capt. John Collins.
 „ 27. John Story, coachman to Mr. Plowden.
 Nov. 8. Mr. Joseph Gaskell, a monthly writer.
 „ 10. Robert Moore, a seaman.
 „ 13. Mr. William Wilson, Sergeant Major of supernumeraries.
 „ 15. Mr. M. L. Kelly, a monthly writer.

(28) For a note on George Williamson, who was a very old inhabitant of Calcutta, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 209. He married Eleanor Howett on Dec. 26, 1761.

(29) Appointed jointly with William Magee to be Master and Accountant-General upon the establishment of the Supreme Court on October 22, 1774.

(30) Acted as Private Secretary to Sir John Macpherson, who succeeded Hastings.

(31) See note (23).

(32) Had been Secretary to the Board of Trade. Described also in the records as a "Salt Merchant" signed the Merchants' petition to the Council on September 22, 1778, asking for protection against French privateers in the Straits of Malacca.

- Nov. 18. Robert Young, an infant.
 „ 20. Phebe, wife of Lieut. Edward Rowland Jackson (33).
 „ 21. Mr. Charles Baker, Commander of a country vessel.
 Dec. 8. Mr. George Brooksbank, tailor.
 „ 9. Edward Hesketh, Esq., Barrister-at-Law (34).
 „ 12. Draper, a seaman.
 „ 13. Mr. Thomas Scott, 4th officer of the Montague Indiaman.
 „ 18. Mr. Samuel Weller, Commander of the Snow Amazon.
 „ 30. William Sands, seaman in the pilot service.
- N.B.*—A copy and duplicate of the Register of Burials for the year 1785 were transmitted to the Court of Directors by the King George and Dublin Indiamen.

T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1786.

- Jan. 4. William Hall, a monthly writer.
 „ 5. Mr. Evans, lately belonging to the Dublin Indiaman.
 „ 5. James Bruce, lately belonging to the Fox Packet.
 „ 7. John Henry Stork, an infant.
 „ 21. Mrs. Anne Scholfield, inhabitant.
 Feb. 4. John Fency, 2nd officer of a country vessel.
 „ 7. Hugh Hunter, officer of the Speedwell, a country vessel.
 „ 21. Mr. Jackson, a monthly writer.
 „ 24. Elizabeth Clarke, an infant.
 „ 27. Major-General William Ogle, in His Majesty's Service (35).
 Mar. 4. Mr. Charles McClary, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Charles Woolen, servant to Mr. Burgh.
 „ 10. Thomas Clarke, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Mr. William Oulton, a monthly writer.
 „ 22. William Martin, inhabitant.
 „ 29. Mr. Alexander Thompson, inhabitant.
 „ 31. Elizabeth Clarke, inhabitant.
 Apl. 2. Lieut. Charles Macdonald.
 „ 5. Angus McKay, from the Hospital.
 „ 11. George Guthrie. From do. late a seaman of the Dublin Indiaman.
 „ 16. Helen, an infant daughter of Thomas Graham, Esq., and Ann his wife.
 „ 22. Lieut. Henry Evans.
 May 23. Mr. James Arthur, a surgeon.

(33) Aged 24. Her tablet is among those affixed to the gateway of the South Park Street cemetery. For her father-in-law Dr. Rowland Jackson: see note (17) Phoebe Tuting married Edward Rowland Jackson on January 28, 1779.

(34) Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on March 1784.

(35) General Ogle had come up to Bengal from Madras to procure an early passage to England on one of the Company's ships.

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- June 3. Henry an infant son of Mr. Henry Swinhoe, Attorney-at-Law and his wife Jane.
- „ 6. Mr. Thomas Collier, 3rd officer of the Success Galley.
- „ 11. Mrs. Mary Hennes, wife of Mr. Hennes, inhabitant.
- „ 14. Mr. William White, late a mariner.
- „ 18. Mr. James Burnet, mate of a country vessel.
- „ 21. Maria Charlotte, an infant daughter of John Addison, Esq. and Lucy his wife (36).
- „ 26. Thomas Pallis, seaman.
- „ 30. Mrs. Elizabeth Palmer, wife of Capt. Charles Hamey Palmer (37).
- July 9. Mr. Charles Munro, a monthly writer.
- „ 14. Robert Palmer, seaman of the Manship Indiaman.
- „ 19. Mr. James H. Kennedy, chief officer of a country vessel.
- „ 24. John Williams, seaman in the pilot service.
- „ 28. Mr. William Watts, pilot in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
- Aug. 5. Mr. Peter Sivewright, Commander of the fancy sloop.
- „ 6. Richard Stephenson from the hospital.
- „ 8. Frances Richardson, widow from the hospital.
- „ 12. Mr. Charles Grant, auctioneer.
- „ 12. Charles, an infant illegitimate son of Lieut. Wyatt of the Engineer Corps (40).
- „ 12. John Brown, seaman.
- „ 12. Mr. William Phillips Williams, school master.
- „ 18. Mr. Edward Boulton, from the hospital.
- „ 19. John Green, mariner.
- „ 22. John Marchall, seaman.
- „ 22. John Cockerell, blacksmith.
- „ 23. John Feely, seaman in the pilot service.
- „ 24. Mr. John Pennry, carpenter of the Manship.
- „ 24. Ensign George Staunton.
- „ 24. Henry Mitchell, an infant.
- „ 29. Thomas, an infant son of Frances Gladwin, Esq. and Sarah his wife (41).
- „ 31. Mr. Alexander Raney, boatswain of the Ganges Indiaman.
- Sept. 2. Joseph Kinder, seaman in the pilot service.
- „ 4. Mr. Nathaniel Thomas, one of the matrons of the Orphan School.
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(36) John Addison married Lucy Clark on September 8, 1784. He was head assistant to "Bob Pott" at Moorshedabad and quarrelled violently with him. See Hickey, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 329.

(37) Capt. Charles Hamey Palmer married Elizabeth Macevoy on Nov. 19, 1784.

(40) Charles Wyatt was transferred from the Infantry to the Engineer Corps as a Lieut. in 1781: and retired in 1806. He prepared the plans for Wellesley's new Government and also for the projected-palace at Barrackpore. In one of Wellesley's letters to Grenville he is described as a nephew of James Wyatt R.A. whose election as President of the Royal Academy George the Third refused to confirm.

(41) Francis Gladwin, the well-known oriental scholar—married Sarah Alexander, on July 11, 1782. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 206.

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- Sept. 4. John Sherring, carpenter of the Talbot Indiaman.
 „ 4. William Fudge, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 8. Mrs. Jane McClary, wife of Mr. McClary, merchant (42).
 „ 8. Mr. Anthony Gay, pilot in the service.
 „ 9. Mr. Stephen Bagshaw, Attorney-at-Law (43).
 „ 10. Mrs. Mary Herbert, wife of John Herbert, Esq. (44).
 „ 11. John Mathew, blacksmith.
 „ 13. Mr. Lewis Wells, ensign by Brevet in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 13. Daniel Grant, seaman of the Manship Indiaman.
 „ 15. Mr. Joseph Gross, gunner of the William Pitt, Indiaman.
 „ 15. Mr. William Duffin, mate of the True Briton a country vessel.
 „ 15. Mr. John Soxell, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Ezra Simmons, seaman of the Hillsborough Indiaman.
 „ 17. John Harrison, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 17. John Steanes, seaman of the Phoenix Indiaman.
 „ 19. Mr. William Wright, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Robert Gardener, seaman of the Ganges Indiaman.
 „ 21. Ensign George Gordon.
 „ 22. Mr. Robert Windsor, merchant.
 „ 22. Mr. James Germaine, inhabitant.
 „ 25. Mr. George Davis, Midshipman of the Talbot Indiaman.
 Oct. 1. William Laverack, seaman of the Manship.
 „ 4. Mr. Outherwith Maudsley, midshipman of the Hillsborough.
 „ 7. Henry Vansittart, Esq. Sen. Merchant in the Hon'ble Comapny's Service (45).
 „ 8. John Carr, a pauper from the hospital.
 „ 9. Thomas Davis, seaman of the William Pitt.
 „ 12. George Cook, tailor.
 „ 12. Thomas Lee, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 14. William Burkin, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 15. William Macleod, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 19. Charles Hubbert, seaman of the Berrington.
 „ 21. Laurence Johnston, seaman of the Talbot.
 „ 22. Henry Dougherty, Esq., Barrister-at-Law (46).
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(42) John McClary, merchant, married Jane Morgan on Feb. 4, 1786.

(43) Stephen Bagshaw acted as Sheriff during part of 1784. There is a reference to him in Mr. Justice Hyde's Note book (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. III, p. 58). On Jan. 23, 1782, he presented a petition from James Augustus Hickey, a prisoner on judgment against him for libels on the Governor-General, in which complaint was made of difficulties in procuring advocates and attorneys. Hickey was in custody and the petition was put in by Bagshaw as "a deputy of the Sheriff".

(44) John Herbert was Chief of the Factory on Balembangan island to the North of Borneo in 1772: and afterwards Governor of Prince of Wales Island. A. W. Devis painted a portrait of him at Calcutta in 1791. This was presented to the British Museum by Admiral Benjamin, W. Page, and transferred to the National Portrait Gallery in 1879.

(45) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 213.

(46) Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court in November, 1784.

- Oct. 23. John Binns, an infant.
 „ 25. Mr. John Powell Styles, a clerk in the General Bank.
 „ 26. William Smith, seaman of the Hillsborough.
 „ 26. Mr. William Webb, inhabitant.
 „ 26. John Watkins, seaman of the William Pitt.
 „ 31. James Atkinson, seaman of the Hillsborough.
 „ 31. Alexander Blair, an infant.
- Nov. 6. William Young, seaman of the Talbot Indiaman.
 „ 6. Cornelius Connor, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 7. Robert Ellis, seaman of the Swallow Packet.
 „ 7. Mr. Amos Maywood, carpenter.
 „ 8. Mr. William Gunn, carpenter.
 „ 14. Mr. William Gardiner, assistant Surgeon in the Company's service.
 „ 17. Mr. Grace Edwards, single woman.
 „ 19. William, an infant son of Mr. Robert Arthur Pritchard and Sarah his wife.
 „ 20. William Stanley, mariner from the Hospital.
 „ 20. Thomas Enson, seaman of the Talbot.
 „ 24. Sophia, an infant daughter of Mr. Lewis Selby and wife.
 „ 29. Edward, an infant natural son of Herbert Harris, Esq. (47).
- Dec. 1. Mary, an infant daughter of Mr. Edward Candler, carpenter.
 „ 2. James Williamson, Esq., Commander of the Ganges Indiaman.
 „ 3. John Cook, seaman of the Talbot.
 „ 4. Joseph Tucker, seaman of the Phoenix.
 „ 4. Christopher Kiley, seaman of the Lansdown.
 „ 5. James Barry, a youth aged about sixteen years.
 „ 5. William Thompson, seaman of the Ganges Indiaman.
 „ 8. Mr. John Davis, Assistant Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 13. William, an infant. Natural son of Capt. Thomas Cust of the sepoys.
 „ 14. Mr. John Phillips, a monthly writer.
 „ 18. William Saunders, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 21. John Martin, an infant.
 „ 21. Thomas Simpson, a Sheriff's Officer.
 „ 28. John Rutherford, seaman of the Berrington Indiaman.
 „ 28. Mr. Scabrer, from the Gaol.
 „ 29. Mr. William Woodcock, watchmaker.
- A copy was sent home by the Berrington and a Duplicate by the Oxford.—T. Blanshard, Chaplain.

1787.

- Jan. 2. Miss Lucy Boswell, spinster.
 „ 2. Ann Forster, spinster.

(47) Herbert Harris was Sheriff in 1781 and Mint Master in 1785; and died in Calcutta on January 22, 1810, aged 68. He was "forty-five years in the Service."

Jan.	8	Alexander Marno, from the Hospital.
„	9	Thomas Welham, from the same.
„	10	Peter Pedro, late servant to John Stables, Esq.
„	11	Mr. Edmund Bengough. Apothecary-General in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	12	Mr. John Gardiner, Attorney-at-Law.
„	18	Mr. John McCulloch, mate of a country vessel.
„	22	Mr. John Greenfield, tailor.
„	29	Charlotte Ellers, an infant.
Feb.	6	Mr. Allen Stewart, a tailor.
„	15	Mr. Edward Mucklestone, carpenter.
Mar.	8	Mr. John Hay, printer of the India Gazette.
„	16	Jonathan Bell, from the Hospital.
„	17	Mr. James Grey, musician.
„	19	Lieut. Samuel Hamilton, late in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	25	Richard Hughs, from the Hospital.
„	27	Mr. Joseph Shepperd, engraver and jeweller.
Apl.	12	Thomas De Pau, from the Hospital.
„	13	Maria, the wife of John Smith, inhabitant.
„	15	Miss Janet Balfour, an infant daughter of Dr. Francis Balfour and Emily his wife (48).
„	21	Miss Margaret Auchterlony, an orphan aged about 14 years.
„	26	Mr. George Drake, Lieut. in the Bombay Marine (49).
„	26	James Oke, from the Hospital.
May	1	Mrs. Mary Joys, wife of Mr. John Joys, shopkeeper (50).
„	6	Mr. John Sturdy, a poor inhabitant.
„	12	Abraham Roebuck, Esq. Second Supracargo at China.
„	16	Norman, son of Lewis Selby and Meheatable his wife.
„	19	Mr. John Jerwin. Inhabitant, he shot himself in a fit of lunacy.
„	20	Mr. George Mainwaring Kenderdine, Surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service (51).
„	17.	Mrs. Elizabeth Glegg, wife of Capt. Glegg, Commander of a country ship.
„	26.	Mr. John Porter, a debtor from the gaol.
„	30.	Mr. Benjamin Gibbons. Attorney-at-Law, killed in a duel (52).
June	5.	Mr. James Clarke, from the Civil Hospital.

(48) Francis Balfour joined the Bengal Medical establishment in 1769 and retired as first member of the Medical Board in 1807 when he settled at Edinburgh. He was an intimate friend of Warren Hastings and corresponded with him from Benares. Author of "The Forms of Herkern, a Persian Letter-writer".

(49) George Drake, of the Bombay Marine, married Charlotte Greentree in Calcutta on November 28, 1786.

(50) John Joys, Shopkeeper, married Mary Webster on March 7, 1782, and Sarah Simpson on December 1, 1787. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 204. One of the owners of the Harmonic Tavern.

(51) Gave his name to Kenderdine's Lane in Calcutta.

(52) The duel was fought with Thomas Andrews "one of the Proprietors of the Library". See *Calcutta Gazette* of May 31, 1787. Gibbons was "killed on the spot".

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- June 11. James Glegg, an infant of Capt. and Mrs. Glegg.
 „ 11. David Dixon, a seaman.
 „ 20. Mr. Alexander McLure, ship's carpenter.
 „ 26. Mr. William Clarke, mate of a country ship.
 „ 28. Mr. Alexander, inhabitant.
- July 1. Eugene Macdonagh, Lieut. in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 6. Mr. James Cummings Maitland, midshipman of the *Britannia* Indiaman.
 „ 12. Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. James Augustus Hickey Printer (53).
 „ 12. Mr. Thomas Pate, mariner.
 „ 14. Lewis Dawson, seaman.
 „ 16. John Wedderburne, Esq. Lieut.-Colonel in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 17. Mrs. Susanna Ramsay, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Mr. James Berry, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 24. Mr. Norman Shaw, inhabitant.
- Aug. 4. Elizabeth, the wife of Mr. Lewis Manly, inhabitant (54).
 „ 4. Mr. Thomas Drummond, ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 6. Alexander Donaldson, from the Hospital.
 „ 8. William Walker, inhabitant.
 „ 10. John Macdonald, Captain's cook of the *Britannia* Indiaman.
 „ 15. Isaac Cowdle, from the Hospital.
 „ 16. Henry Little, seaman of the *Henry Dundas* Indiaman.
 „ 20. William Cobbs, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 20. Capt. Samuel Hunt. Commander of the 4th Battalion of sepoy in the Company's Service.
 „ 21. Mr. Thomas Overend, a monthly writer.
 „ 21. John Williamson, coachman and Livery stable keeper.
 „ 22. Mr. Adam Cranstone, master pilot.
 „ 23. Mr. Robert Anderson, purser of the *Princess Royal* Indiaman.
 „ 24. Lieut. Richard Parry, of the Hon'ble Company's sepoy.
 „ 25. John Perkins, from the hospital.
- Sept. 1. Mr. John Lovejoy, mariner warehouse keeper.
 „ 1. Mr. Robert Nunn. Captain's Steward of the *Atlas* Indiaman.
 „ 3. William Newham, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 6. William Brown, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 7. Carl Barry, a seaman belonging to a Danish ship.
 „ 7. Thomas, an infant son of William Ledlie, Attorney-at-Law and Ann his wife.
 „ 8. John Fyfe, seaman of the *Britannia* Indiaman.
 „ 11. Mr. Hollis, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 12. David Jacks, seaman of the *Camden* Indiaman.

(53) See article by Sir William Foster: *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXX, pp. 123-127.

(54) Elizabeth Charley married Lewis Manly on May 8, 1787. He re-married on October 7, 1790, his second wife being Ann De Bruyn.

- Sept. 14. Mr. Peter Valentine, pilot in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 17. Mr. Ray, of the Britannia Indiaman from the Hospital.
 „ 18. James Harsammon, a Danish seaman.
 „ 19. Mr. George Hush, shipwright.
 „ 20. William Peters, seaman of the Britannia.
 „ 23. Nathaniel Pannell, a seaman.
 Oct. 1. Rosetta, wife of Mr. Thomas Meredith, Steward of the Civil Hospital.
 „ 4. Mr. Samuel Greenway, officer of a Danish ship.
 „ 4. Thomas Chambers, seaman of the Rodney Indiaman.
 „ 6. Mr. Henry Ridley, third mate of the Britannia Indiaman.
 „ 9. Mr. Duncan Man, sergeant in the Governor-General's Body-guard.
 „ 9. Mr. Robert Hays, tavern keeper.
 „ 12. Mr. Innes D. Hamilton, midshipman of the Henry Dundas Indiaman.
 „ 12. Mr. Peter Moodie, mate in the pilot service.
 „ 13. Mr. James Balnabes, Cooper.
 „ 14. Mr. William Donaldson, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Mr. Thomas Macbride, midshipman.
 „ 25. Mr. Joseph Harwood, late a butcher.
 „ 26. Mr. Duncan Stewart, midshipman of the Minerva Indiaman.
 „ 30. Mr. John Thompson, a monthly writer.
 „ 31. Mr. Michael Anderson, a monthly writer.
 „ 31. William Rawlings, seaman of the Princess Amelia Indiaman.
 Nov. 4. Mr. John Burney, tailor.
 „ 5. Henry Duckworth, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 8. Mr. Thomas Henry Bourke, tailor.
 „ 11. Roger Mackenzie, seaman of the Henry Dundas.
 „ 12. Charles Collier, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 12. Mrs. Mary Keighley, wife of James English Keighley, Esq. (55).
 „ 25. Mr. Alexander Wingate, midshipman of the Busbridge Indiaman.
 „ 26. Mr. Hezekiah Delany, printer.
 „ 28. Louisa Fidelia, wife of Mr. Robert Hollier, Church Clerk.
 „ 30. Mr. Robert Veel, 4th mate of the Lord Camden Indiaman.
 „ 30. George Allen, seaman of the Rodney Indiaman.
 Dec. 6. Mr. Solomon Gunter, seaman of the Princess Amelia Indiaman.
 „ 9. Mr. Pyne, 6th mate of the Princess Amelia Indiaman.
 „ 10. David Rees, seaman of the Minerva Indiaman.

(55) The tomb in the South Park Street cemetery bears the following inscription, "Juxta cineres Filii Iacobi/Maria Keighly/Uxor et Deliciae Iacobi English Keighly/Armigeri: in Expectatione Diei Supremae/Hic jacet. Qualis erat/Ista Dies Indicabit. obit 11 Nov./Anno Dom.: 1787. Aetatis Suae 32".

Maria Higgins married James English Keighley in Calcutta on May 17, 1777. He soon consoled himself for her loss: for he married Sarah Christiana Peach on Feb. 21, 1788. There is much gossip about the Keighleys in Hickey's *Memoirs*: see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 154-155, where it is summarized.

- Dec. 10. John Haswell, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 12. Mr. Robert Ord, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 12. Charles Benjamin Beasley, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Kenneth McKinnon, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 16. Robert Mason, seaman of the Rodney Indiaman.
 „ 19. Mr. Edward Baillie, a monthly writer.
 „ 19. Robert Wallace, from the Civil Hospital.
 „ 21. Mr. William Stibbs, second officer of the Britannia Indiaman.
 „ 23. Mr. John Stainsbury, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 23. Joseph Grant, seaman.
 „ 27. Mr. James Jervis, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Michael Doule, seaman of the Jufrow Maria Dutch ship.
N.B.—A copy of the Register of Burials for 1787 was sent home
 15th January 1788, by the Thetis Indiaman. T. Blanshard,
 Chaplain.

1788.

- Jan. 1. Ann Evers, an infant daughter of ensign William Leadbeater and
 his wife Mary.
 „ 5. Mrs. Helena Broadbrook, widow.
 „ 9. Hendrick, son of Mr. Frederick Deatker (56).
 „ 12. John Johnson, a boy from the Charity School.
 „ 13. Mr. Benjamin Sparling, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Mr. John Paxman, a constable of the Supreme Court.
 Feb. 3. Mr. Michael Derozio, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Mr. James Taylor, accomptant to the Military Board.
 „ 9. Thomas Watson, an infant.
 „ 10. William Steptoe, a boy from the Charity School.
 „ 26. John Staples, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 26. Thomas, an infant natural son of Capt. George French.
 Mar. 2. Samuel Bowers, merchant.
 „ 13. Ellen Margaret Whinyates, daughter of Lieut. Tho. Whinyates
 and his wife Catherine.
 „ 22. Mr. Birch, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 23. Michael Anderson, a seaman.

(56) *Frederick Deatker*, the father, died on December 15, 1812, "in the Calcutta gaol" (Calcutta Directory for 1813). William Hickey (Memoirs, Vol. III, p. 247) describes him as a Sheriff's Officer, "by birth a Dane, a daring savage kind of fellow whom from a ferocity of manner and being remarkably ill-looking I had always greatly disliked." Hickey was then (1784) Deputy Sheriff. He goes on to say that "from some irregularities I had detected him in I would long ago have dismissed him the office, but that in those days we found it extremely difficult to procure any sort of European to act in the capacity of bailiff". Deatker was also a constable and was "considered the best of the whole set, which made him a favourite with the judges and more especially so with Mr. Justice Hyde". An account follows (Chapter XVIII) of "a perversion of justice is an extraordinary case" before Hyde, in which Deatker proceeded against two clients of Hickey, Mr. George Tyler, who had been assistant Secretary to Sir Eyre Coote and was at the time "paymaster to the Madras detachment", and Captain Griffin, of the Madras native cavalry.

- Mar. 25. The Hon'ble Lockhart Gordon, Barrister-at-Law (57).
 Apl. 6. Mr. Thomas Walton, inhabitant.
 „ 11. Peter Murray, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 11. Barney Brown, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 21. Charlotte, daughter of Major Charles Russell Deare and Catherine his wife (58).
 „ 22. John Le Bros, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 23. Richard Powers, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 28. Mr. Joseph Brown, a tailor retired from business.
 „ 28. Richard, illegitimate son of Peter Hodroyd.
 May 2. Ann, the wife of Mr. Thomas Clarke, cooper.
 „ 11. James, an infant natural son of Peter Hodroyd.
 „ 20. John Peiarce, Esq. Sen. Merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (59).
 „ 23. Mr. Francis Lherondell, Attorney at Law.
 „ 20. Mr. Mathew Munby, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Miss Ann Helena Legh, natural daughter of Willoughby Legh, Esq.
 „ 30. Mr. James Lane. Conyers, merchant.
 June 9. Ann Maria Brown, an infant daughter of Mr. John and Ann Maria Brown.
 „ 12. George, an infant natural son of Mr. George Morgan.
 „ 17. Mr. Charles Manson, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Mr. James Orrick, assistant surgeon.
 July 9. Cornelius Davis, Esq., Major in the Hon'ble Company's Bengal Artillery.
 „ 15. Mr. J. B. Redpath, carpenter.
 „ 15. John Stevens, a poor boy.
 „ 16. Phillip Delisle, Esq. (60).
 „ 16. John Bawben, an infant.
 „ 19. Mr. William Mackay, carpenter.
 „ 21. Mrs. Catherine Deane, widow.
 „ 21. Mr. Robert Mackay, carpenter.
 „ 23. Mr. John King, musician.
 „ 23. Mrs. Mary Williams, wife of Capt. John Williams.
 „ 27. Peter Causals, servant to James Inglish Keighly, Esq.
 „ 27. William Wipperling, a poor inhabitant.
 Aug. 1. Mr. William Pinhorn, surgeon.
 „ 2. Miss Charlotte Thompson, an infant.

(57) Judge Advocate General: admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on March 4, 1785. Son of the Earl of Aboyne.

(58) Charles Russell Deare married Catherine Stark on June 5, 1779. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 162.

(59) Collector of Midnapore from 1778 to 1788. There is a monument to his memory at Midnapore.

(60) Came out with Hastings and the Imhoffs on board the Duke of Grafton Indiaman in 1769. His daughter Mary married in 1800, Lieut. the Hon. James Ramsay, fourth son of the eighth Earl of Dalhousie: See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 214.

- Aug. 5. Mr. James McMican, surgeon's mate of the Phoenix Indiaman.
 „ 12. Sarah Jacobi, an infant.
 „ 15. Michael Henry Grace, Sheriff's Officer.
 „ 18. Leonora Hard, an infant aged eight years.
 „ 21. Warren Hastings, an infant son of William Larkins, Esq., Accountant General (61).
 „ 25. George Harrison, boatswain of the Prudentia a Danish ship.
 „ 26. Robert Stewart, a seaman.
 „ 30. Jeremiah Church, Esq., Barrister at Law (62).
 „ 31. Mrs. Ann Barnwell, inhabitant.
- Sept. 1. Mrs. Mary Filsley, widow.
 „ 8. Mrs. Margaret Burn, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Charles, an infant natural son of John Herbert Harington, Esq.
 „ 8. Edward Locke, seaman.
 „ 14. Richard Ross, seaman in the pilot service.
 „ 18. Mary Karowpit, spinster, a natural protestant.
 „ 23. William Bell, seaman.
 „ 25. Obrien Green, an infant.
- Oct. 2. Mr. Isaac King, assistant surgeon in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 4. Mr. William Delamonte, inhabitant.
 „ 9. Mr. Jeremiah Russell, musician.
 „ 9. Mr. James Ellis, ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 14. William White, a natural protestant.
 „ 14. William Deatker, an infant.
 „ 15. Mrs. Elizabeth Cave, inhabitant.
 „ 17. Mr. Charles Crommelin, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (63).
 „ 17. Mrs. Jane Stewart, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Mr. John Rogers, a monthly writer.

(61) He was four years and twenty days old at the time of his death. The inscription upon his tomb in South Park Street cemetery records that "an uncommon promising Genius, and an engaging and amiable Disposition, made him the Delight of his Father and the Favorite of the Settlement". In one of his letter to Hastings who was the child's god-father. Larkins writes that he is "very fond of calling himself Hastings Behauder" and "often points to your picture saying Jeeta Ro". This is the well-known picture by Devis, which hung for many years in the Council-chamber at Government House, Calcutta, and is now at Viceregal Lodge, Delhi.

(62) Admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on Nov. 12, 1782: Sheriff 1788. Hickey mentions his death (Vol. III, p. 342).

(63) The inscription on the tomb in South Park Street cemetery is as follows: "To the memory of Charles Crommelin junior, Esq. October 17, Anno Domini 1788: act. 30." A civil servant of this name was Resident at Radhanagore from 1787 to 1788. The use of the term "junior" suggests relationship with the Charles Crommelin who died at Berhampore on December 25, 1788, at the age of 81, and is buried there in the Calcapore cemetery. This Charles Crommelin, senior has been identified with the individual of that name, son of Marc Antoine Crommelin of a Huguenot family, who came out to Bombay in the Company's service in 1732 (when he must have been twenty-five) and was Governor from 1760 to 1767. He returned to England but suffered great losses in trade, and came back to India as a free merchant in

- Oct. 19. Elizabeth Bartley, a poor woman from the gaol.
 „ 20. Mr. John Blair, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Mr. John Debonnaire, inhabitant (64).
 „ 23. James Dempsey, seaman of the *Triomphe*, a Danish ship.
 „ 23. Mr. Thomas Findley, a poor man from the Hospital.
 „ 24. Mr. William Beresford, a monthly writer.
 „ 25. Mr. John Grant, a monthly writer.
 „ 25. George Gallaway, mariner.
 „ 25. Thomas Prescott, a poor inhabitant.
 „ 26. Miss Isabella Smart, aged thirteen years.
 „ 27. Mr. John Deane, inhabitant.
 „ 29. Richard Haswell, an infant son of Lieut. John Toppin and Elizabeth his wife.
 „ 29. Frederick Deatker, an infant.
 „ 30. Robert Wilkins, seaman.
 „ 31. Mr. James Moffatt, surgeon of the *Phoenix* Indiaman (65).
 Nov. 11. William Hume, a boy aged eight years.
 „ 17. Mr. Joseph Yarde, mariner.
 „ 18. Lydia Hadgett, an infant.
 „ 22. Mr. Charles King, chief constable to the Supreme Court.
 „ 24. Miss Charlotte Cooper, an infant.
 „ 25. Mr. Gwynne Vaughan, inhabitant.
 „ 26. Montague Samuel, son of Mr. Robert Samuel Perreau and Mary his wife.
 „ 26. Elizabeth Taylor, an infant.
 „ 26. Henry Gardiner, an infant.
 „ 27. William Brookes, a boy aged twelve years.
 „ 29. Mr. Patrick Butler, inhabitant (66).
 „ 29. Mr. Thomas Roy, inhabitant.

1772. In 1777 he was at Canton and was British Resident at Goa in 1784. Cf. Forbes' *Oriental Memoirs* (1813: Vol. IV, p. 107). "On January 18 [1784] I embarked [from Bombay] for the Malabar coast. In two days we arrived at Goa and spent a fortnight with Mr. Crommelin the English Resident: a respectable and venerable gentleman who had been Governor of Bombay twenty years before but by a reverse of fortune then held that inferior station in the Company's service. He resided at Panjeem, a pleasant spot on the banks of the river, some miles from the city of Goa not far from the Governor's country seat." There was also a Charles Russell Crommelin who was Commercial Resident at Cossimbazar in 1788 and at Luckypore from 1794 to 1799. His wife Juliana Shipton whom he married on March 1, 1790, died in Calcutta on November 2, 1795, aged 25, and is buried in the South Park Street cemetery.

(64) The maternal grandfather presumably of Lord Metcalfe. Mrs. Susanna Selina Sophia Smith, widow of Major John Smith, who married Sir Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe in Calcutta on April 18, 1782, was the daughter of John Debonnaire "merchant at Lisbon and in the East Indies". Another daughter, Anne, married on Jan. 10, 1786, Col. the Hon. William Monson, son of the second Lord Monson who retreated before Jaswant Rao Holkar in 1804.

(65) His son William commanded the *Phoenix* Indiaman from 1800 to 1802.

(66) Patrick Butler married Mary Lloyd on November 16, 1787.

Nov.	30	Mr. Samuel Oldham, undertaker (67).
„	30	Mr. William Thompson, from the hospital.
Dec.	1	Henry Cornelius Thomas Martin, an infant.
„	2	Joanna, natural daughter of Daniel Inglish.
„	3	Fergus Fergusson, carpenter's mate of the <i>Triomphe</i> , a Danish ship.
„	3	John Murphy, seaman of the <i>Prudentia</i> a Dane.
„	3	William Allen, seaman of the <i>Ranger</i> Packet.
„	4	Francis Mansoor, a poor native Christian.
„	5	Benjamin Pile, from the hospital.
„	12	Joseph Wright, seaman from the hospital.
„	14	John James Carlier, an infant.
„	14	Elizabeth Gray, an infant.
„	16	Phebe, an infant daughter of Mr. John Hall, senior merchant and Jean his wife.
„	17.	Maria Eliza, infant daughter of John Bristow, Esq. and Amelia his wife.
„	19.	James, son of Mr. John Stormonth, Surgeon Major.
„	20.	John Steel, an infant.
„	21.	Mr. George Weeden, chief officer of the <i>Sultan</i> , a country vessel.
„	24.	Charlotte Amelia Turner, an infant.
„	24.	John Palmer, an infant.
„	24.	Mary Grant, an orphan from the Charity School.
„	26.	Mr. James Alexander Stuart, mariner.
„	28.	Mr. John Gent, inhabitant.
„	30.	Mr. Peter Brown, inhabitant.

T. BLANSHARD, CHAPLAIN.

(67) Samuel Oldham married Mrs. Annie Wells, widow, on November 23, 1786. On February 17, 1789, she took a third husband in the person of Richard Haigh, Coachmaker. The tablet to Oldham, who was 55 at the time of his death, is among those affixed to the gateway of the South Park Street cemetery.

Selection from the Records of the Government of India.

Home Dept. Pub. O. C. 23rd March 1778, No. 28.

Governor-General's minute on the proposal of establishing a packet service between India and Suez.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL,

As it is of the greatest Importance to the Company that their Letters to and from India should be conveyed with as little delay as possible, I have long projected the establishment of a Packet between India and Suez in Egypt, from whence our Dispatches may pass without any danger to any of the Southern Ports in Europe.

The advantage of such an Establishment in point of dispatch cannot be doubted, as Mr. Whitehill of the Council of Madrass who brought out a Packet from the Court of Directors was not eleven Weeks from London to Madrass, and I myself received Letters from in nearly the same Time. I beg leave to call the Board's Attention to the 34th Para of the Company's General Letter under date the 4th of July 1777 by the Besboro [ugh] the latter part of which I shall quote:

"At the same time we shall take every step that the Company may be secured in the privilege of passing the dispatches under their seal to & from the East Indies by the way of Suez, and that all vessels conveying such dispatches and furnished with the Company's passport be suffered to enter that port & remain there without molestation, provided they have no Goods or Merchandize on board for carrying on any kind of traffic—it will therefore be necessary for you immediately to signify the same to the Commanders and Officers of such Vessels respectively and we hereby direct that you take effectual means to prevent the shipping of any Goods or Merchandize whatsoever thereon."

I think we are by this Letter authorized to establish a Packet for the navigation of the Red sea, and I have taken some pains to inform myself in what manner such an Establishment may be made with the greatest possible advantage, that is for the purpose of Expedition. I have learnt from a Gentleman who was at Bombay in October last, that two Vessels upon the model of the Swallow Sloop of War were then upon the stocks, one of which is to be sheathed with Copper, and that these Vessels were building for the Company's use. The Swallow is one of the best sailers in the navy, and from her shape is peculiarly adapted to the Navigation of the Red Sea, in which the winds generally prevail from one point and are contrary to Vessels bound to Suez. The length of Time that the Packet will be under the necessity of waiting at Suez for the Company's Dispatches makes it

highly proper that she should be sheathed with Copper, as she must lie at anchor in salt water, there being no River at Suez large enough to admit a Vessel of burthen, by which her Bottom might become so foul as to make a material difference in her return to India.

Mr. Maclean who has served on board an East Indiaman as second and chief mate, has made the voyage up and down the Red Sea at different seasons, and performed the Journey from Suez to London and back again, is particularly well qualified for the Command, and will be better able than another to take the necessary measures for the safe and speedy conveyance of such Dispatches as may be entrusted to his care.

I therefore move that Mr. Maclean be furnished with a Letter to the President and Council of Bombay requesting them to deliver to him the Vessel sheathed with Copper that I have described in my minute, or if she should be otherwise engaged, the other Vessel built on the same Model; and if neither of the Vessels can be spared, that they will cause any other proper Vessel to be provided for a Suez Packet and delivered to Mr. Maclean.

As Mr. Maclean must set out for Bombay in the course of this Week, should the Board agree to my motion, I am of opinion that he should be put, immediately upon the same Establishment as the Commander of the Amazon and that he should be directed to proceed to Bombay with the Letter mentioned in my motion with all possible Expedition. Upon his arrival there he will be under the orders of the Governor and Council, and it will be proper to inform them of our desire that the Packet may be dispatched so as to arrive in Bengal early in August.

W. H.

Home Dept. Pub. O.C. 23rd March 1778, No. 29.

To

THE HON'BLE WILLIAM HORNBY, ESQR.,
President &ca. Council of Bombay.

GENTLEMEN,

We think it proper to furnish you with the enclosed Extract of a General letter which we have received from the Hon'ble the Court of Directors.

As the Company have thereby informed us that " they will take every step to be secure in the privilege of passing dispatches under their seal to and from India by the way of Suez " and as we consider it a matter of great importance that they should receive advices from India by the most speedy channel of Conveyance we propose to establish a packet between Bengal and the Port of Suez. We understand that you have two Vessels on the stocks which are Building after the model of the Swallow Sloop of War and that they are to be sheathed with Copper. As we conceive that Vessels of this construction would be the fittest in every respect for the navigation of the Red Sea we request that one of them may be delivered to Mr. Maclean the bearer of this letter whom we have appointed to the Command of the

Packet, but if the service for which they were ordered to be built will not admit of either of them being spared on this occasion we desire that you will cause any other Vessel which you may deem most proper for this Purpose of a Suez Packet to be provided and delivered.

We are,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedt. Hble. Servt.

CALCUTTA,
The 23rd March, 1778.

The Mother of the Company.

(Mr. B. N. Banerji sends us the following interesting note on his article in our No. 64.—ED., B. P. & P.)

SINCE the publication of the last issue of *Bengal: Past & Present* I have received from the India Office, London, copies of two interesting documents which could not be found in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta.

On the eve of sailing away from India Hastings received the following *arzi* from Munni Begam describing her hardship and soliciting the restoration of the annual allowance of Rs. 1,40,000 which had been once settled on her "with a benignant regard to her ease and dignity":—

"...My claims on the Company and the rulers of this country are too well known to require that I should here enlarge on them. The attachment of my husband the Nawab Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan to the Company, the services which he rendered them, and his anxious concern for their prosperity, even from the commencement of their disputes with Qasim Ali Khan to the hour of his death, are boundless, and such as I shall not attempt to describe. They are preserved in the records of the Company. During the life of my husband, Jafar Muhammad Khan, and of our son Najm-ud-daula, who by favour of the Company was, according to the ancient custom of the country, appointed Nazim of Bengal with an established salary of fifty-three lakhs, eighty-six thousand, and one hundred thirty-one Rupees, I was the Mistress of the family and uncontrolled in my expenses. I possessed besides for my own sole and separate benefit the management of several Khas mahals or freehold districts, and other lands of great value. So long I continued exempt from every hardship and inconvenience. Afterwards Saif-ud-daula succeeded to the Nizamat. His salary was first settled at forty-one lakhs, eighty-six thousand and one hundred thirty-one Rupees, but was soon afterwards reduced to Rupees thirty-two lakhs. During his time I continued at the head of the women relations and dependents of the two deceased Nawabs and, however fallen, continued to lead my life in tolerable ease. I comforted myself with the conviction that the Honorable Company in due attention to the merits of Jafar Muhammad Khan, would never be negligent in promoting the welfare of his family. In his last hours indeed he sent for me, and assured me that his merits with the Company were so well established and acknowledged, that whilst they should continue the rulers of this country they would be the careful Guardians of his Honour and Family. And after both his decease and that of Najm-ud-daula, Lord Clive came to my house and gave me

similar assurances. He told me that though nothing could compensate for the loss of the two deceased Nawabs, yet that while the Company's power in this country continued, it should be extended to the care and preservation of the honour and family of the Nawab, and that the Gentlemen invested with the government of this country would always attend to me and consult my welfare and happiness. So far his assurances were verified, that during the life of the Nawab Saif-ud-daula, neither I nor the women of the deceased Nawabs who now depended on me, were subjected to any great inconveniences. In the Bengal year 1179, when the stipend of the Nizamat was settled at sixteen lakhs of Rupees, you visited the city. Alarmed by so great a deduction of the salary, I laid before you the circumstances and situation of our family, and represented to you the numbers who depended on me for subsistence. As you were early and intimately acquainted with the circumstances of our house, you attentively considered my situation, and with a benignant regard to my ease and dignity were pleased to grant me a salary of one lakh forty thousand Rupees, exclusive of the sum of sixteen lakhs which had been settled as the stipend of the Nizamat. From thence I was enabled, with whatever difficulty, to subsist myself, and to furnish a bare support, if nothing more, to the numerous and honorable relations of the two deceased Nawabs. In the Bengal year 1182, when the new Gentlemen arrived from England, great contentions arose between the Members of Council, and in the consequences of these were unhappily involved many of the natives of this country. Though no offence had been imputed to me, yet because in attention to the deserts of Mir Jafar, you, like your predecessor, were pleased to favor me with your protection, the new Gentlemen, in the month of Jeit 1182 [May-June 1776], annulled my salary. So considerable a deduction from what was before only a bare subsistence reduced us, notwithstanding the rights which we possessed, to a state of extreme distress. Unable to provide for the many relations and dependents who looked up to me for support, I frequently represented my afflictions to you. You comforted me with promises of assistance. Relying on these and never doubting that you would kindly consider my wretched situation, I have by borrowing and by the sale of my effects thus long continued to subsist myself and support my relations and dependents. But the accumulated distresses which I suffer from the importunities of my creditors, and the difficulties under which I labour are now beyond all bounds. I have not the means to satisfy the one or power to bear the other. Affliction seems to threaten a period to my days. It is incumbent upon all the English Gentlemen, but above all upon you who on the part of the King, the Company and the English nation, are the Governor of this country and the distributor of Justice to all who demand it, to consider with compassion our

situation. If you will not attend to us, who will? Who besides yourself can afford us relief? Consider that this large family of women are possessed of honour and [are] the relations of the deceased Nawab. They are not servants whom I can dismiss. If, which God forbid, I should not be enabled to support the family, and they should be obliged to separate, consider the disgrace and obloquy which will be proclaimed by such an event through all the cities of Hindustan. As on the part of the King of England and the Company, you are the possessor and the ruler of this country, we call on you with uplifted hands for justice, and humbly hope that in due consideration of our manifold claims, and in attention to the honour and happiness of our house, which is one of the most distinguished in Hindustan, you will be graciously pleased to restore to me the yearly allowance of one lakh forty thousand Rupees as it was before settled on me, that so I may free myself from the importunities of my creditors, and proportioning my mode of life to my circumstances, may pass the remainder of it in prayers for the welfare of the Company, etc." (1)

Hastings on 3rd November 1783 wrote a letter to the Court of Directors, forwarding the *arzi* of the Begam, without informing the other Members of the Council:

"I humbly and earnestly solicit your favourable attention to the enclosed letter addressed to me for the purpose, as I understand, of a reference to your Hon'ble Court, from Munni Begam, the principal widow of the Nawab Mir Muhammad Jafar Khan, and once the directress of his household. This introduction to your notice I have frequently promised to give to her claims, and I reluctantly yield to the obligation which her present solicitation, grounded on my engagement, imposes on me to present them at a time which on many accounts, I fear, may prove unpropitious to them. But the pressure of severe necessity will not always wait the delays which policy may recommend for the better assurance of success; and many years of her life have elapsed since she first looked to your justice and benevolence for the alleviation of her sufferings. These are not to be conceived by those who have not a near acquaintance with the modesty of female life in those countries where the religion of Muhammad prevails, and among women of the most elevated rank. Her's is of that estimation in these provinces. Her education and the confidence of her deceased husband were the causes of her being placed by his appointment in the charge of his family. How she was removed from it, her letter mentions, but delicately suppresses the indignities which attended her privation of authority. You, Hon'ble Sirs, will easily turn to their place on our records, and will remember without any reference the general subject of them. You will also remember how

(1) *Bengal Letters Received*, Vol. 21, pp. 361-68.

unfortunately for her ease, interest and dignity, I made her the instrument of effecting the regulations which formed the substance of your first commands to me on my accession to the office of President under the former and ancient system of your Government. I hope I shall not transgress the lines of humility in claiming some merit with your Hon'ble Court, and a return yet due to me for the scrupulous and studious obedience which I paid to those commands. I was, by private letters received at the same time with them, assured that it was suspected generally that I should elude the performance of them. I performed them most literally, and drew upon me by it a host of enemies, supported even in the place where my fidelity merited a more generous treatment. She too became the victim of your policy and of the resentments which succeeded. Something too she owed of the source of her misfortunes to the belief of the personal gratitude which she might entertain for the public attention which I had shown to her. Yet, exposed as she was to a treatment which a ruffian would have shuddered at committing, and which no recollection of past enmities shall impell me to believe even for a moment proceeded from any commission of authority, she still maintained the decorum of her character: nor even then, nor before, nor since that period has the malice of calumny dared to breathe on her reputation.

Pardon, Hon'ble Sirs, this freedom of expostulation. I must in honest truth repeat that your commands laid the first foundation of her misfortunes. To your equity she has now recourse through me for their alleviation, that she may pass the remainder of her life in a state which may at least efface the remembrance of the years of her affliction. And to your humanity she and an unseen multitude of the most helpless of her sex cry for subsistence.

It is proper to apprise your Honourable Court that as this address is written without the knowledge of the other Members of the Council, so neither shall I make any communication to them of the letter which it encloses. I am now the only remaining Member of your Government who was formerly a party in the dissensions of which Munni Begam was the object, and perhaps the only one of the present Board who have any knowledge either of her pretensions or, if she has any, of her demerits. The virtues of her sex are such as in their nature depress their possessors in silence and obscurity, and some years have passed since she ceased to be an object of notice. Were I to bring her claims at this time before the Board, whether for the purpose of requiring their effective sentiments upon them, or simply for official information, in either case their opinions, if opposite to mine, would be hostile to her, and become the seeds of future and durable prejudices in the breasts of those who may soon become the disposers of her Fate, and to whom, if they succeed to the full powers of my office, I should wish to bequeath the same spirit of kindness which I have

ever felt and manifested to the family of Jafar Ali Khan. On this occasion it will better become me to commit and avow an informality than by a more regular conduct to involve an innocent and deserving person in the hazard of future evils. (2)

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

(2) *Bengal Letters Received*, Vol. 21, pp. 353-60.

Only a small portion of this letter is reproduced in Burke's *Speech at the Impeachment of Warren Hastings*.

The Editor's Note Book.

WHO was the Apelles who went out to Bengal in 1759 and very probably painted Colonel Clive? He was the bearer of a letter to Mrs. Clive in that year from Miss Sally Clive, which like many ladies' epistles bears no date, but was certainly written shortly after a letter of Dec. 26, 1758, both being quoted in Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, Vol. II, pp. 167-9. Sally was one of the Clive cousins and her letters are most sprightly, the first one opening, "I don't know what title I must give you now, but I am sure I may say To the agreeable Mrs. Clive." "I have always wrote when I heard the ships sailed, and by Captain Tully and Mr. King." The succeeding letter which Apelles carried is as follows.

"I have a thousand things to say to you, and but a moment's time. I find the bearer of this a painter; hope the Colonel and you will let him take your pictures. I should be glad of them in miniature. I begin to fear the Colonel will not bring me the Eastern Prince till it is too late; the

"The Colonel a great advantage to his family." bushel of diamonds runs strangely in my head. Fanny is going to enter into the happy state of matrimony.

I have seen the lover; upon my word, a pretty, cherry-cheeked, agreeable young counsellor. I hear he is called to the Bar, and will have 500 l. a year. I wish I had been the Colonel's sister; not to detract from them; certainly he is a great advantage to his family; and I

"Old maids will be extirpated out of the house of Clive." believe, after my aunts and myself the horrid name of old maid will be extirpated out of the house of Clive. I have still a thousand things to say. Apelles has arrived

and must have this letter, but it may be of service to you, his occasioning me to release you. Well, a little more. All diversions go on as usual; a gloomy town; general mourning for the Princess of Orange; the linen that is worn is crape, as yellow as saffron and what they call Turkey gauze, that looks like sarcenet; a sign that the world is as ridiculous as ever. A most elegant ball at Lord Sandwich's! I must not say any more, only beg my respects and most sincere love to the Colonel. I wish for your speedy return to England. Pray give my love to cousin George who I would write to had I a moment but will in the next ship."

Who can Apelles have been? The date of the letter is fixed by the reference to the recent death of the Princess of Orange and the engagement of Fanny to the cherry-cheeked Counsellor. 1759 is too

Who can Apelles have been? early for George Willison, Ozias Humphrey, Calef John Garbrand, Mathew Wilmott or J. T. Seton, who all arrived in India much later. Perhaps a reference to the List of Passengers carried on the Company's ships in the year 1759 would furnish a clue. The Eastern Prince is referred to in the previous letter: "I sincerely wish you well on your native shore, with your bags of money and bushels of diamonds; with

the Eastern Prince the Colonel is so good as to say he will get for me. I can't possibly refuse him. I have a taste to be a princess." It was a common mode of remittance at the time to send money home in diamonds, and on one occasion Clive sent 16,000 gold mohurs to his agents at Madras, Messrs. Orme and Vansittart with instructions to purchase diamonds as a remittance. The George Clive was the only member of the family who accompanied the Colonel on his expedition to Bengal.

MISS Sally's taste to be an Eastern Princess is exemplified by the Epilogue to "A Wife in The Right" written by Mr. Colman and spoken by Mrs. Mattocks in March 1772. This is the celebrated actress (Isabella Hallam, 1746-1826) who was for fifty-eight years at Covent Garden, and has been described as "A stage Hogarth and for facial expression a very Munden in petticoats".

"The Eastern
Princess or Nabobina."

"I'll e'en equip me for the Indian route:
Seaton and Ramsay join to fit me out;
Bull says he's sure I need not then despair,
For British features have a premium there.
Even this homely face would charm, they say,
Among the copper beauties of Bombay;
And she who in a croud would scarcely pass
With us, would be a Venus at Madrass.
Pantheon, opera, play-house, Fantoccini,
Farewell. I'll go and be a Nabobina,
Or if that scheme perchance should not succeed
E'en wed a Seapoy Chief and mend the breed.
What if one's husband is a little frightful,
Where everything beside is so delightful!
T'will be so charming on a summer's day
For fifty squas to charm me as I play,
Or on rich carpets, free from noise and hurry,
Sit cross-legg'd with my spouse, and feast on curry.
If I've a taste for baubles, my good man
Will load me with old china and Japan,
Diamond on diamonds heap'd, and pearly rows
For hair, ears, neck and breast, *perhaps my nose*.
No filthy hackneys here, so poor and mean,
Give me twelve Seapoys and a Palanquin,
I'll keep a little squadron at my call
And make my first grand visit in a shawl.
But must I leave my little Bull behind:
No, hang it, after all 'twould be unkind,
The fellow may be useful, he shall go
For he can write or under-write, you know,
And many a worse, I heard a sweet bird Sing,
Goes out a writer and comes back a King,
A writer here is quite another thing."

REFERENCE has been made in these columns in the past to Thomas Hickey's portrait of Mrs. Abington as "Lady Bab" at the Garrick Club, London. It hangs next to Millais' splendid likeness of Sir Henry Irving (1836-1905) who is connected with India, in that he worked as a youth for four years with Messrs Thacker, East India merchants, Newgate Street. This was when he bore his original name of John Henry Brodribb. He was born at Keinton Mandeville, near Glastonbury, Somerset, and educated at Dr. Pinches' School, George Yard, Lombard Street. Hickey's portrait adjoining which is a small full-length represents Mrs. Abington in the character of Lady Bab Lardoon in the "Maid of the Oak", and was shown at the Academy in 1775. She is depicted with tired hair and a wreath of flowers in her hand. "Mrs. Abington (1730-1815) whose maiden name was Frances Barton, succeeded to the crown of comedy on Mrs. Clive's retirement and has left behind her a reputation for nearly every essential of stage excellence. She is traced as "Nosegay Fan", the flower-seller in the Mall, through many a vicissitude and shifting scene to the front rank as a comic actress, to the first society of the fashionable world, and is immortalized by Reynolds as the Muse of Comedy. In two characters she is reported as unapproachable; Estifania in Beaumont and Fletcher's "Rule A Wife and Have A Wife" and Shakespeare's Beatrice. Of her own sex she was ever a brilliant satirist and of the bevy of ladies who composed Garrick's Company, she was the most unmanageable and unrelenting. J. P. Collier ("Old Man's Diary") "saw her twice at Serjeant Rough's parties in Bedford Row. She was shrunk by age into a small woman, but was very sprightly and, in spite of her wrinkles, attractive." She died in Pall Mall and is buried in a vault in St. James' Church, Piccadilly. We reproduce this excellent note from the Catalogue of Pictures in the possession of the Garrick Club (1909) by Mr. Robert Walters, and our thanks are due to Mr. Charles Fitch, the Club's Secretary, for our copy of the Catalogue, as well as for a visit to the pictures paid so long ago as November 1910.

IT is not too much to say that Herasim Lebedeff and his theatre in Doomtollah have been completely forgotten by the Calcutta of to-day. Lebedeff however is honoured by mention in Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography. He is said to have been a Russian peasant from the Ukraine: and he first made acquaintance with India as a bandmaster in Madras where he stayed two years. In August 1787 he came to Calcutta and in 1795 obtained permission to build a theatre for the performance of Indian plays in Doomtollah, the lane leading out of China Bazar which is now-a-days known as Ezra Street. It was advertised to open with a translation into Bengali of "The Disguise", which was followed later on by a translation of "Love is the Best Doctor". The performances, according to Lebedeff, were a great success: but he left Calcutta to become theatrical manager to the Great Mogul and returned

The Doomtollah Theatre.

to England in 1801 after more than 20 years in the East. He published in that year in London a "Grammar of the pure and mixed East Indian dialects, with dialogues affixed, arranged according to the Brahmenian system of the Shamscrit language", was subsequently employed by Woronzow in the Russian Foreign Office and died after 1815. There is a copy of his book in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

ANYTHING about Madame Grand cannot fail to interest our readers. On page 81 of Dr. Firminger's Reprint of the "Narrative of A Gentleman Long Resident in India", G. F. Grand writes:—

Madame Grand's father.

"In one of these trips from the Presidency (to Ghyretty) I formed an attachment to Miss Noel Catharine Werlée, the daughter of Monsieur Werlée, Capitaine du Port, and Chevalier de Saint Louis, a respectable old man, whose services had deservedly merited this mark of distinction from his Sovereign." Mr. Grand made his acquaintance in 1776-7 and has ante-dated the mark of distinction by 10 years. As a matter

Pierre Jean Werlée, Chevalier de Saint Louis.

of fact the decoration was not conferred till 1786 and only reached Chandernagor after the death of le Sieur Werlée. In March 1781 he was according to a letter of his own, aged 60 and for some time past had suffered from swelling of the legs, could hardly walk and had to use crutches. The despatch which announced the decoration is dated Versailles, Feb. 23, 1786 and signed by the Maréchal de Castries, and is endorsed, "The Sieur Werlée being dead, this cross has been returned to the Court, with the letter No. 70." It is to be found among the archives at Pondicherry, which have been so excellently catalogued in two volumes by M. Gaudart. We quote the original French.

"Versailles, le, 23 Fevrier 1786.

Pondichéry. Le Sr Werlée étant mort cette croix a ete renvoyee à la Cour, par la lettre No. 70.

Sur le compte, Monsieur, que J'ai rendu au Roi des services du S. Werlée, Capitaine de Port à Chandernagor Sa Majesté a bien voulu
 Croix de St. Louis
 pr le Sr Werlée.
 luy accorder une des croix de St Louis qui ont été affectées au Corps des ancien Capitaines de la Compagnie des Indes. Vous trouverez cy. joint les orders nécessaires pour sa réception, avec la croix et le ruban. Je vous prie de m'envoyer le certificat de la réception de cet officer. Comme la position dans laquelle il se trouve à Chandernagor, pourrait trop éloigner cette réception et la priver de la jouissance de la décoration qu'il a obtenue, Sa majesté a permis par le Brevet cy-joint de porter la croix de St. Louis vous voudrez bien les luy faire parvenir avec la lettre cy-jointe. J'ai l'honneur d'être très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

Signé: le Maréchal de Castries.

Mr. De Cossigny.



EMBASSY OF HYDER BEG (OR HYDER BECK) TO CALCUTTA.

On the second elephant are Captain (afterwards Sir John) Kennaway and the Nawab's interpreter,
edited by John Zoffany, R.A.

IN the little churchyard of Escot, near Ottery St. Mary, the tomb may be seen of two famous Anglo-Indian brothers of a past generation, of whom one was closely connected with Calcutta. The inscription, which has most kindly been copied by Miss G. E. Kennaway, the great granddaughter of Sir John Kennaway, runs as follows:

The Kennaways
of Escot.

Sacred to the Memory of Richard Kennaway Esquire and Sir John Kennaway, Baronet, both of Escot, Second and Third sons of William Kennaway of the City of Exeter, Merchant. In early life Richard entered the Civil and John the Military Service of the East India Company in Bengal. They were shipwrecked at the mouth of the Ganges; but by the mercy of God their lives were preserved. For more than 20 years They Served with zeal and integrity; And John, having ably conducted important negotiations, was advanced by his Sovereign to the rank of a Baronet on the 25th February 1791.

After their return to England John married Charlotte daughter of James Amyatt Esq. M.P. by whom he had seven sons and five daughters. Richard remained unmarried. But retaining in manhood and old age the warm affection of youth, they dwelt in the same house, were loved by the same family, and submitted themselves to the same trials. In the decline of life it pleased God to visit them both with the same affection of blindness. And now in the hope of a Blessed Redeemer they rest in the same grave.

Richard died 5th January, 1833, aged 76.

John died 1st January, 1836, aged 77.

There is a portrait of Sir John Kennaway in the Victoria Memorial Hall, and he is represented also in Zoffany's famous pictures of "The Embassy of Hyder Beck" and "Lord Cornwallis receiving the Son of Tippoo", which are likewise in the collection. He came out to Bengal with his brother Richard in 1772 and accompanied Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse in 1781 as his Persian Secretary during his expedition to the Carnatic where he subsequently served under Eyre Coote until 1786. From 1788 until his retirement in 1794, he was Resident at Hyderabad: and concluded treaties with the Nizam in 1790 and with Tippoo Sultan in 1792. Richard was Secretary to the Board of Trade at Calcutta from 1782 to 1787 and Import Warehouse Keeper from 1788 to 1796.

NOT far off, in the church at Talaton, near Sidmouth, a monument will be found recording the death at Sidmouth on August 21, 1804, at the age of 64, of Mrs. Maria Amyatt, "widow of Peter Amyatt, Esq., second in Council at Calcutta who having been deputed on the public service of his country to the Court of Cossim Ally Khan, immediately after the nuptial ceremony, was murdered by the officers of that prince on his return to the Presidency". The lady thus

Peter and James
Amyatt.

commemorated was the mother of Charlotte Kennaway. Maria Woolaston was twice married in Calcutta: to Peter Amyatt on April 6, 1763, and to his cousin and executor, Captain James Amyatt (who was later on M.P. for Southampton) on March 2, 1764. Peter Amyatt arrived in Bengal in 1743, when he was about fifteen years old: and seems also to have twice married. Margaret Holme, who became his wife on January 20, 1756 is named among the women on board the vessels at Fulta: and as for Peter we learn from the Fulta Lists that, being then Chief of the Jugdea Factory (in the Noakhali district), he "with Messrs. Playdel, Verelst, Smith and Ensign Mure with about 20 military quitted Jugdea factory agreeable to the Governor and Council's order and joined the fleet at Fulta sometime after Calcutta was taken". He brought with him about Rs. 60,000 worth of the Company's property, and was commended by Holwell. Clive sent him early in February 1757 with letters for the Nabob, who was then in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum. In 1760 he went to Patna as chief, but was passed over for the office of President at Fort William by Henry Vansittart who came up from Madras in July. He was murdered on the river off Cossimbazar in July 1763. Captain James Amyatt was in the marine service and in command of the *Fort William* in 1759. The date of the departure of himself and his wife from Calcutta is fixed by an entry in Colonel Alexander Champion's diary (India Office Mss. Home Miscell: 198): "February 10, 1766: Early this morning Mr. and Mrs. Amyatt left Town for Europe." A few months before—on November 7, 1765—General John Carnac had married Mrs. Amyatt's sister, Elizabeth Wollaston: but she did not long survive and his second wife whom he married when M.P. for Leominster was Eliza Rivett, the subject of the famous picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds (now in the Wallace Gallery), of which a reproduction was given in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1909 (Vol. III, p. 189).

The following note is by Sir Evan Cotton.

THE student of history has long been waiting for an authoritative collation of the various contemporary accounts of the victory gained by Major Hector Munro at Buxar on October 23, 1764, over the forces of Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab of Oudh and Wazir of the Empire. This has at last been provided by Mr. C. A. Oldham, C.S.I., in the issue for March, 1926, of the "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society." As sub-divisional officer of Buxar in 1892-94, Mr. Oldham carefully surveyed the battle-field, and his topographical researches are of the utmost value. In addition to an admirably clear sketch map of his own, he publishes for the first time, a plan which accompanies the account of the battle in the diary of Major Alexander Champion (India Office MSS. Home Series Misc. Vol. 198, pp. 99-107). The conjectural sketch which appeared in 1910 in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. VI, p. 129) is, he points out, as inaccurate and incomplete as the plan given by Sir John Fortescue in his "History of the British Army" (Vol. III, plate IX).



Not less important than Mr. Oldham's identification of the different localities is his story of the engagement itself, which finally decided the fate of the English in Northern India. Munro, in the report addressed by him to the President and Council at Fort William, is strangely silent upon the vicissitudes of the fighting, and lets fall no hint of the errors of the enemy which enabled him almost at the last moment to turn disaster into victory. For these essential details recourse must be had to Champion, and Lieutenant Gabriel Harper, as well as Gentil and René Madec, the two French officers whose disciplined brigades formed part of the Nawab Wazir's army. If we are to believe Champion, Munro displayed at the outset of the battle the same irresolution which led him in 1780 to throw his guns and baggage into the temple tank at Conjeeveram and retreat hastily towards Fort Saint George on learning of the defeat by Haidar Ali at Pollilore of Colonel Baillie, whom he had failed to support. The final attack against the division of Beni Bahadur on the left wing, proved decisive: but it was a supreme effort made after Munro had lost all his munitions and stores. The casualties were heavy (12 per cent. of the total force as against $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. at Plassey) and in all probability were caused mainly by the enemy's artillery which was superior in calibre. The resting place of the two English officers, who were killed, is unknown: but thanks to Mr. Oldham, the tombs have been discovered of Shuja Quli Khan and Saiyid Ghulam Qadir two of the Wazir's generals: and these are now under the care of the Public Works Department.

SIR EVAN COTTON also writes: Mention was made in my article on Tilly Kettle and his pictures *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, p. 227) of two large historical works painted for Sir Robert Barker (who commanded the artillery at Plassey and was appointed Commander-in-chief in Bengal in 1770) and hung by him at Busbridge Park, his house near Godalming. This mansion has been demolished, and the new house which has taken its place is owned by Sir "Archy" Birkmyre, Bart., of Calcutta. The pictures are now in the possession of Mrs. Webb, of Milford House, an adjoining estate, whose husband was connected with the family of Sir Robert: and I have lately been afforded the opportunity of examining them. They are very large in size: measuring about ten feet by eight and a half feet. One of them represents the signing of the treaty of Fyzabad in 1772: and contains portraits of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daula and his four sons, and of Barker with his aides-de-camp, Capt. Cockerell and Capt. Harper, and Mr. Davy, the Persian interpreter. The other picture shows the Emperor Shah Alum reclining in his tent of State and watching a review of the third brigade of the Company's troops "in the plains of Allahabad". He is surrounded by his principal attendants, and an English officer stands by his side, with a sepoy, explaining the various evolutions of the troops. A full description of both pictures is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1786. At page 1092 of the December number, the death is reported of "Tilly Kettle, Esq. on his way to Bengal."

His abilities as an artist could only be excelled by his virtues as a man. Society loses a most amiable member, and his family and friends a man endued with every virtue which rendered him highly respected while living and deservedly lamented. A large picture by him of Sir Robert Barker and other officers having audience of the Nabob is at Busbridge House, whither he lately sent a large picture of the mother and her seven children martyred by Antiochus.

The allusion to the pictures inspired a correspondent to send an account of them which is printed in the Supplement at p. 1145. The picture which illustrates the signing of the treaty of Fyzabad must have been painted while Kettle was in India, for it is stated to have been exhibited "at the Society of Artists at their great room over Exeter Change in 1775, when Mr. K. was fellow of the Society", and also in the East Indies. It is a good piece of work, and the portrait of Barker is a fine one. The picture of the review at Allahabad, which was painted after Kettle left India, is not so attractive. It was shown at the Royal Academy in 1781. The correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* appertions praise as well as blame:

The materials of the several draperies render it a very rich picture in point of colouring and are exceedingly well painted. The foreshortening of the aid-de-camp's right arm in the act of extension to explain what passes, from an injudicious position of the whole attitude, suggests an idea of lameness which no plea of natural effect can justify.

The third picture is not at Milford House, and must have been sold after Barker's death in 1789. Its subject is taken from the seventh chapter of the first book of Maccabees. The correspondent adds that several single portraits by Kettle were exhibited in 1777, 1782, and 1783, while he was in India; and enumerates the following: a portrait in 1775 at the Society of Arts of "Nabob Omdut il Mult Surajah Dowla Anaverdee Caun Behauda Jung Nabob of Arcot and the Carnatic"; and a picture in 1776 of a Gentoo woman taking leave of her friends and distributing her jewels before mounting her husband's funeral pyre. These details we are told are printed as a tribute to "the merit of this artist which was confined to a particular line and of whose private history no traits have hitherto reached us".

TILLEY KETTLE had a son in the Madras Army, James Tilley by name who entered as Cadet in 1800, became Lieutenant July 20, 1801, and a Captain Feb. 2, 1804. He was invalided in India July 31, 1817 and died October 21, 1819 at Sankerrydroog in the Salem district where his tomb in the cemetery is not one of the two whose inscriptions have survived. The Army List which places him first in the 7th M. N. I. and then in the 4th Native Veteran Battalion, persistently spells his second name as Tillary which looks like a comparative of Tilley. But it is an obvious mistake for Tilley. Sir William Foster, who has been good enough to refer to the Volume of

Tilley Kettle's
military son in the
Madras Army.

Petitions at the India Office has found the copy of his baptismal certificate which states that James Tilley, the son of Tilley and Mary Kettle, was born in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, November 27, 1782. At the time of his application (1799) both his father and mother were dead. There seems no doubt that he was the son of the painter.

WE learn with pleasure (writes Sir Evan Cotton) that His Excellency the Earl of Lytton has secured a portrait of the Marquess Wellesley by Robert Home for the sadly depleted collection at Government House, Calcutta. The picture is a replica on a smaller scale of the portrait by Home which formerly hung at Government House and has been transferred to Viceregal Lodge, Simla. The large painting (which came in the first instance from Government House, Singapore) is reproduced as a frontispiece to the first volume of Lord Curzon's book on Government House, Calcutta. Lord Wellesley is shown in scarlet uniform standing beside a table which is covered with scrolls inscribed "Subsidiary Treaty with Hyderabad, 1798", "Treaty with Mysore, 1799", "Subsidiary Treaty of Seringapatam, 1799": and in the background is a view of St. Mary's Church in Fort Saint George. There is an inscription to the following effect on the back of the picture purchased by Lord Lytton: "Portrait of the Most Noble the Marquess Wellesley, Governor-General of India, painted circ. 1800 (by Robert Home), presented to Mr. Burmann and retained in his family until 1893 when it was presented by his grand-daughter to Dr. Renaud."

A Portrait of Lord Wellesley for Government House.

IN a pamphlet on "Indian Reform" published in the year 1853 at the time when the merits of Company and Crown Government were being hotly discussed, some remarkable statements are made regarding the holders of the office of Commander-in-Chief, of whom there was at that time one in each of the three Presidencies:

The Commanders-in-Chief of a past generation.

These officers invariably belong to the Queen's service and are in the majority of cases effete septuagenarians to whom no one would commit the drill of a militia corps. Sir Richard Armstrong, Commander-in-Chief at Madras [1851-53] requires to be carried about in an easy chair. The faculties of Sir John Grey (1780-1856), late Commander-in-Chief of Bombay [1850-52], were so far gone that he forgot the names of his own aides-de-camp and never could be made to comprehend when he should write his name, when only put his initials to, a document. The rule as to antiquity, however, is not absolute. Sir William Gomm [1784-1875, Commander-in-Chief in India from 1850 to 1856] was at the bottom of the list of Lieutenant Generals when the baton of

authority was conferred on him [in succession to Sir Charles Napier]: much junior to the Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras, the former of whom, Sir Willoughby Cotton [1847-1850] resigned his command in consequence. Not one of the present Commander-in-Chief, of whom, however, the youngest [Sir William Gomm] is allowed to be a man of ability, had, when appointed to commands in India, ever been in the country or seen a sepoy: while there are seven thousand English officers in the Company's army, possessed of all the qualifications for those highest commands which they are prevented by the injustice of their country from filling.

In pre-mutiny days the Commander-in-Chief in India received £8,000 a year as his military salary and £10,000 as member of Council. The two other Commanders-in-Chief were paid at half these rates.

NO greater contrast to this complaint could be found than the following
Lord Dalhousie on "Queen's Officers." extract from a letter written by Lord Dalhousie almost at the same time (September, 1852):

In this Presidency of Bengal alone there are at present upwards of 550 Queen's Officers. A few of these are on personal staff appointments exclusively belonging to the Queen's service; but excepting these there is not, as a general rule, one single officer of the Queen's army employed on the general staff or in any of the numerous appointments, civil, military and scientific, which exist in India. This exclusion is caused by the positive prohibition of the Court of Directors.

IT is interesting to turn up a Bengal Directory for 1855 and glean particulars regarding the composition of the Bengal Army in the period immediately preceding the outbreak of the Mutiny.
The Bengal Army in 1855. There are seventy-four regiments of regular infantry, of which the fourteen last were raised in the years 1823 to 1825. The senior regiment, the First Bengal Native Infantry, is alone entitled to bear "Plassey" on its colours: it was raised in 1757. Next in point of age comes the Fifth, which dates from 1758, and carries "Buxar" and "Carnatic" on its colours. The Ninth, which was raised in 1761, fought likewise at Buxar, and so also the Second (Grenadiers), raised in 1762, and the Third, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth, all raised in 1763. The Fourth and Twelfth ("Carnatic") Sixth ("Mysore") Seventh and Eleventh ("Guzerat") date from the same year, 1763. The Thirteenth ("Guzerat") Fourteenth ("Seringapatam") and Fifteenth ("Bhurtapore") are regiments of 1764, and the Seventeenth, which carried no battle honours, of 1765. There is then a gap until 1776, which is the date of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first.

The Twenty-second and Twenty-third are of 1778, and the Twenty-fourth of 1779. Five regiments were raised in 1797 and are numbered 25 to 29 and five others in 1798, the Thirtieth to the Thirty-third and the Thirty-fifth. Lastly, to bring the century to a close, those numbered 36 to 39 were raised in 1800. In addition to the seventy-four regiments of regulars, we have the Regiment of Kelat-i-Ghilzie, two regiments of Sikhs (the Forezepore and Loodiana regiments, raised in 1846) three battalions known as the Sirmoor, Kemaon, and Nusseeree battalions, and ten regiments of local infantry, such as the Bhugulpore Hill Rangers, raised in 1792, and the Ramgurh Light Infantry, raised in 1795 for service in Chota Nagpore.

AMONG the tombs in the South Park Street Cemetery is that of Captain Edward Cooke of H. M. S. *Sybilie* "who received a mortal wound in a gallant action with the French frigate *La Forte* N., of the "*Sybilie*," which he captured in Balasore Roads, 1st March 1799, and brought to this port where he died 23rd May 1799, aged 26 years." It has been held upon the authority of a leading article in the *Times* of August 3, 1799, that the young sailor was the son of Captain Cook, the discoverer of Botany Bay: but according to Dr. C. R. Wilson, his father was Colonel Cooke of Harefield, in the County of Middlesex, and his brother General Sir G. Cooke, commanded the first division at Waterloo. A passage in the last volume of William Hickey's *Memoirs* (IV, 202) confirms Dr. Wilson's statement. We read:

The *Sybilie* frigate, being in want of repairs in her hull, was brought up to Calcutta to undergo them. She was commanded by Captain Cook, a gallant young man of only twenty two years (*sic*) of age, full of vigour and spirits. He was son to the gentleman who long represented the County of Middlesex in Parliament until he was thrown out by the mad popularity of John Wilkes in the year 1768.

The date of the entry is in the autumn of 1798, about six months before the engagement with *La Forte*, which passes unnoticed. Sir Evan Cotton has recently purchased for the Victoria Memorial Hall from Messrs. T. H. Parker, 12-A, Berkley Street, Picadilly, an aquatint in colours, 6½ by 10½ published by J. Jenkins, 1816 representing the Capture of the *Forte*.

THE publication of the fourth volume of the *Memoirs* of William Hickey enables us (writes Sir Evan Cotton) to fill a gap in the Indian career of James Paull, the adventurer who found his way into the House of Commons and endeavoured—but without success—to promote the impeachment of Lord Wellesley (see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, Part I, pp. 44-104). In the account of Paull's suicide in London, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Vol. 78) mention is made of a wound received in a duel in India "which latterly deprived him of the use of his right arm." Hickey (p. 125) gives the following account of the incident, which took place in 1795:

James Paull's
First Duel.

My friend Mr. Prendergast, who had left Dacca and had for some time been settled at Lucknow where he carried on very extensive dealings as a merchant, got into an unpleasant dispute with Mr. Paull, a resident of the same place, which Mr. Paull has since made himself so conspicuous not only by his attack upon the public conduct of Lord Wellesley, while Governor-General of India, in the House of Commons, but also from his coming forward as a candidate to represent the City of Westminster in Parliament, and his fighting a duel with that troublesome patriot Sir Francis Burdett. This gentleman, conceiving himself insulted in a large company by Mr. Prendergast on the following morning sent him a challenge, which Mr. Prendergast declined accepting, alleging that he (Paull) was the son of a tailor, and therefore not entitled to call for or expect satisfaction, which was the peculiar right of gentlemen only. This refusal being discussed at Lucknow, the gentlemen of that station were unanimously of opinion that such a plea was inadmissible, as Mr. Paull, no matter in what line of life his father was, had been received and treated everywhere as upon a footing of equality with the rest of the society of Lucknow, and had often been so received by Mr. Prendergast himself. Upon this opinion being communicated to Mr. Prendergast he instantly wrote to Mr. Paull to say that, notwithstanding his sentiments remained unaltered, he had no objections to yielding to the opinions of society, and would consequently meet him when and where he pleased. They went out together the next morning, when Mr. Paull received a wound that confined him to his house for many weeks.

Elsewhere (p. 52) Hickey tells us that Mr. Michael George Prendergast married in December 1791 "Miss Jemima Smith, second daughter of my old *Nassau* shipmates Mr. and Mrs. Smith, a short time previous to which he had been fortunate enough to gain half of the highest prize in the Calcutta lottery, his share amounting to upwards of five thousand guineas." This Smith was Mr. John Smith, surgeon of the *Nassau* in 1779 "an absolute maniac. Uncommonly able in his profession, his general conduct was so eccentric as to justify my having pronounced him a maniac. The nickname by which he generally went was Quicksilver Jack." In 1793 little Quicksilver was appointed an Assistant Surgeon in the Bengal establishment and came out by the *Sir Stephen Lushington* in November of that year and becoming deranged soon after reaching Calcutta, attacked Dr. Hare, who had received him as a guest in his house, "was secured in a strait waistcoat, in two hours after which he was seized with violent convulsions and died," (p. 108).

MENTION was made in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVIII, p. 220) of Charles Child, school master, who died at Calcutta on June 9, 1817, aged 99 years and 10 months, and who visited Mrs. Mary Carey, of Black Hole celebrity, in company with Mr. Thomas Boileau, Attorney, on August 13, 1799. His residence

A Calcutta Centenarian.

in Calcutta goes back very much further. By his first wife Christiana he had a daughter Lydia born in 1754 and baptized by Gervas Bellamy on Jan. 13, 1755. He was among the Fulta refugees a year later. Apparently Mrs. Child died soon after the recapture of Calcutta for on Sept. 9, 1758, he was married to Jane Direction. He was afterwards made an Attorney or Clerk of the Mayor's Court (Ecclesiastical Records, No. 48). The inscription on his tomb in the South Park Street Cemetery shows that he was born in 1717: he would therefore have been 39 years old in 1756. His third wife Elizabeth *obit* July 31, 1822, aged 63 years and 8 months and is buried by his side. In the Fulta lists which begin with "A List of the persons killed in the Defence of Calcutta and Fort William when attacked by the Moors in June 1756, also those who died in the Black Hole overheated and for want of water", the following names are noted among the "English on board the ships and vessels at Fulta, July 1756: Mr. Child, schoolmaster, Atkinson and Ridge, attorneys, Pyfinch, a writer, Blany, a glass-grinder, Burton, a butcher, Coverly, the goaler, Mackpherson, Cooper, Cocky Lane (Coquelin), a French seafaring gentleman,....., Ling, a musician, Cole, carpenter, Dacco (or Dracco) Conlas (*sic*), three Portuguese priests, Mons. Albert, a French gentleman." Herbert Pyfinch, the "writer" was in the militia. He became an Alderman of the Mayor's Court and resigned the office of "Company's Cooper" in 1760. His son Solomon, who was baptized in Calcutta on April 29, 1757, his mother Sarah being an Armenian and daughter of Mrs. Sophia Arratoon, was one of the jurymen sworn in to try James Augustus Hicky in June 1781 for a libel on the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander. Monsieur Albert who served in the militia was presumably a relative of Madame Dupleix. Dacco or Dracco Conlas has always been a puzzler. We believe him to have been Dracoulis, a Greek, but the name is very doubtful. In the London Chronicle, June 9 to 11, 1757, it is given as two names, Dacco, Conlas: but it must be remembered that in those days there were no proof readers. There was another Greek Constantine who put in a bill for provisions in November 1756. A George John Drascoelu a Greek from Philippopolis who died Aug. 20, 1728 is buried in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Murghihatta, Calcutta.

IN the *Times* for Sept. 28, occurs the following letter from Lieut.-Col. John Henry Leslie, Editor of the Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research, and Compiler in 1900 of an excellent List of Officers of the Madras Artillery from 1748 to 1861. His address is 8, Palmerston Road, Sheffield.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "TIMES."

SIR,—In a paper by Dr. J. Clarence Webster entitled "A Study of the Portraiture of James Wolfe," read in May, 1925, to the Royal Society of Canada, the following passage occurs:—

"Romney, young and unknown, won his first success in 1763 by exhibiting a painting of the 'Death of Wolfe' at the Free Society of Artists, being awarded a premium because of its fine quality. . . . The picture was bought for 25 guineas by Mr. Rowland Stephenson, a banker, and presented by him to his friend, Harry Verelst, in the Government service of India, who became Governor of Bengal in 1767. The latter placed it in the Council Chamber at Calcutta. Verelst returned to England in 1770 and presumably brought the picture with him. It has, however, disappeared and the present representatives of the family know nothing about it. Through the kindness of Sir Alexander Whyte a thorough search has been made in the various official buildings throughout India, but no trace of the picture has been found."

The disappearance of this picture and all knowledge of its present resting-place seem incomprehensible, but it is hoped that information regarding it may still be forthcoming. Can anyone help?

J. J. COTTON.

Asiaticus.

The following note received from Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, I.C.S. (retd.), will be read with much interest. Mr. Oldham's original article appeared in the July-Sept. Number for 1923: serial number 51 of *Bengal: Past and Present* in which Mr. Oldham expressed his belief that Mr. Hawkesworth was "Asiaticus." It will be seen that his deductions were correct.

EDITOR, *Bengal: Past and Present*.

In an article published at pp. 3-12 of the July-September, 1923, issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXVI, Pt. I) I set forth the results of some research carried out with a view to identify the writer of a book published anonymously at Calcutta in 1803 under the title *Asiaticus; in Two Parts, etc.*, which contained certain interesting *Ecclesiastical, Chronological and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal* that were republished in different forms in subsequent years. It is unnecessary to review the grounds, based chiefly upon internal evidence obtained from the contents of that book and of another (now very rare) book published (also anonymously) in Calcutta in 1801, entitled *The East India Chronologist*, that led to the conclusion (pp. 11-12) that these two books were the work of one and the same person, and that his name was John Hawkesworth. This finding has now been corroborated from an unexpected source.

Sir William Foster, C.I.E., who has recently been looking through the old files of the *Calcutta Gazette*, has discovered two entries, of which he has kindly given me copies, that appear to confirm satisfactorily the above identification. In the *Calcutta Gazette*, of the 14th June, 1804, the following announcement appeared under the heading "Deaths":—

"On the afternoon of the 29th, i.e. May, on the road from Sultanpore Cantonments to Benares to attend the funeral of Mr. Elder (1), Mr. John Hawkesworth, Compiler of the *East Indian Chronologist and Ecclesiastical Sketches*."

In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 21st June, 1804, there appears an advertisement by the Judge and Magistrate, Zillah Mirzapore, that the effects of John Hawkesworth, late of Sultanpore, trader, were under the charge of his court.

Our author seems to have been engaged in trade, and to have moved up country from Calcutta, where he must have resided for some years to have

(1) Sgt.-Major Elder, of the Provincial Battalion, whose death on the 29th May is announced in the same issue.

acquired the varied local information contained in his two books, shortly after publishing *Asiaticus; in Two Parts*. It is very strange that his name should not appear in the *East India Register and Directory* for any of the years 1801, 1802, 1803; and stranger still that a John Hawkesworth should be shown as at Calcutta in the two volumes for the year 1805, "corrected up to" the 8th Nov., 1804, and the 14th May, 1805, respectively. His name does not occur in the published volumes of Hickey's Memoirs.

C. E. A. W. O.

A Lost Zoffany.

Readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* will remember a note by Mr. Julian Cotton entitled "Beniram Pundit," with the sub-heading, 'A Lost Zoffany.' The letter which is now published, received by the Editor from Rao Vajinath Das Shapuri settles in a most satisfactory fashion the fate of Zoffany's picture. It is in the safe custody and possession of Beniram Pundit's lineal descendant, who purchased the picture from Mr. Francis Edwards. I have written to Rao Vajinath Das Shapuri to ask him if he will permit photographs to be taken of the wax bust of Warren Hastings, to which he refers in his letter. The letter is an interesting addition to Mr. Cotton's note, and the readers of "*Bengal: Past and Present*" will join me in thanking Rao Vajinath Das Shapuri for his courtesy in writing.

THE EDITOR,

BENGAL : PAST AND PRESENT, CALCUTTA.

SIR,

WARREN HASTINGS AND BENI RAM PANDIT.

In the issue of your journal for October-December, 1925, in the article headed 'A Famous Portrait of Warren Hastings,' it is stated that Devis painted a replica of Warren Hastings' portrait 'which has disappeared.' Reference is made in the articles to Bisumbher Pandit who superintended the picture which Devis was painting for him. May I, as one of the descendants of Beni Ram Pandit and Bishumbher Pandit, inform you that there is in my possession a life size portrait in oil of Warren Hastings which has been handed down from the time of Bishumbher Pandit. It has been sent for repairs to Mr. Frank Harrington, Art Expert of the Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, and so I cannot say if Devis' name is there. In a communication published in the same issue headed 'Beniram Pandit: A Lost Zoffany' it is stated that a purchaser for Pandit Beni Ram's portrait, which was in the possession of Mr. Edwards, was recently found in a descendant of Beniram, that it was shipped out to him in India, and that it mysteriously disappeared after its arrival in the course of the train journey to 'a remote destination up-country.' I may inform your correspondent that the portrait was purchased by me and is safe and sound in my keeping. I only recently came across the articles in your journal and therefore could not send to you earlier the above information.

It may interest your readers to know that I have got a wax bust of Warren Hastings which I regard as a real work of art. The features of

Warren Hastings are very finely delineated in it. The name and address of the artist is 'Peter Round, sculptor, Portland Road, London, 1805.' I have also got the original *sanad* relating to the grant of the Bahriabad pargana of which mention is made in the "Ghazipur District Gazetteer." This grant was made to Beniram Pandit. The *Jagir* was subsequent resumed and in its place an annual cash grant of Rs. 25,000 was given for some time.

There is a big garden in my possession which is still known locally as Beni Ram Pandit's garden, and Warren Hastings stayed for some time in the house in which I live. If any of your readers can give any information about Beni Ram Pandit's relations with Warren Hastings which is not contained in published records I will feel obliged.

Yours sincerely,
BAIJNATH DAS SHAPURI.

11-68, Kotwalpura,
Benares City.

